

The Outlook

FEBRUARY 1, 1922

JAMES BRYCE

LORD BRYCE was the greatest modern interpreter of democracy. De Tocqueville eighty-five years ago described in his famous book "Democracy in America" how the democratic revolution that had been smoldering in Europe broke into a clear, steady flame in America; Bryce in his "American Commonwealth" and his recent "Modern Democracies" explained and analyzed the institutions of democracy as they developed under actual experience.

Bryce, in a sense, introduced America to Europe. In England especially the lack of knowledge about American political and governmental systems was deplorable. Lord Bryce himself on one occasion said of his "American Commonwealth:" "I wrote it for Europeans, those benighted Europeans who did not know what America was and what she would become."

Lord Bryce as a writer was that rather rare combination—a scholar who was not scholastic. His early book on "The Holy Roman Empire" is a fine example of that fact. His lucidity and literary sense of proportion and construction are seen in his lighter studies in biography and observation, as well as in his most important work, which he long since lived to see become a standard authority, a college text-book, and one of those library companions that all cultivated people read for thought as well as for workmanship.

Lord Bryce interpreted democracy well because he believed in it so thoroughly. He was not a radical, but he saw advancing civilization in the terms of democracy and not of autocracy or aristocracy. The English unwritten Constitution and the American fundamental law in a written Constitution were to him different means to the same general end. Because he was sane, balanced, and moderate his influence upon his time has been strong and abiding. If he criticised American political faults and weaknesses, he also praised judiciously. His last book, for instance, reported his belief that there are now in America "many signs that the sense of public duty has grown stronger and that the standards of public life are rising."

Viscount Bryce died at Sidmouth, England, on January 22, at the age of eighty-four, after a brief illness. His vivacity, his gift of brilliant talk, his



(C) Underwood
JAMES BRYCE, FRIEND OF AMERICA,
CHAMPION OF DEMOCRACY

eagerness and energy in all things intellectual and of public importance, continued with him during his late years. Few men had more or warmer admirers in all the great English-speaking countries than Lord Bryce. In the United States in particular he was so well known from his several visits and his residence at Washington as British Ambassador (1907-12) that he might almost be called an adopted American citizen. Certainly this country has

never had a wiser or steadier friend of another nationality than he.

To enumerate Lord Bryce's honors, public offices, books, and achievements would be superfluous. In literature, statesmanship, and government he was a man of endless activity; his teaching was often in advance of his generation, yet he lived to see his wisdom recognized and in large measure followed. To name but a few salient points in his career, we may note that he was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, President of the Board of Trade, President of the Alpine Club (he was an enthusiastic mountain climber), Chief Secretary for Ireland, Ambassador to the United States, and that he was honored with titles from the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Oxford, Harvard, Princeton, Michigan, and probably a dozen others.

The title of Viscount was conferred upon James Bryce after his retirement from the Ambassadorship at Washington. In the war he did a great public service by acting as the head of a commission which investigated scrupulously and exhaustively many charges of atrocious and illegal conduct by German soldiers and officers in Belgium and northern France. The result was a report that went far to convince the world that not only Germans individually but the German Government were guilty of terrible violations of international law and the laws of humanity.

The fundamental principle of Lord Bryce's political creed was well expressed by him last year in England when in a public address he said, using America as an example of world democracy: "Freedom in America, as elsewhere, has been at some moments abused, at others undermined or secretly filched away; but the pride in freedom and the trust in the saving and healing power of freedom have never failed her people, and have enabled them many a time to recover what they seemed to be losing. It is by these moral forces that nations live."

THE TARIFF SITUATION

THE question is frequently asked, "When are we going to have a new tariff law?" The question is pertinent. The special session of Congress convened on April 11, 1921, called primarily to take immediate action on tariff and

tax revision. We soon got a so-called Emergency Tariff Law, a measure affecting only a very few items. Consideration of a so-called "permanent tariff law" was begun, but the House took all the summer and the autumn to draft and pass its version of what a permanent tariff law should be. It was sent to the Senate with no apologies from the House for its inequalities and deficiencies. The sentiments expressed by the general public indicate that such apologies would not have been out of place.

Meanwhile the situation as to taxation became pressing. A Tax Bill was passed through both houses of Congress and has now been signed by the President. It, too, despite some very good features, is, in general, a disappointing measure.

The Tariff Bill still hangs fire. Not until January 10, 1922, were the Senate hearings completed, so that the Senate Committee on Finance was able to retire to seclusion for the purpose of going over the hearings schedule by schedule. When this is completed and the resulting bill (which may mean a practical rewriting of the House bill) is presented to the Senate, a long-drawn-out and sharply contested fight will doubtless be waged against most schedules by the Democratic minority. What will add particular interest is the prospect that at not a few stages the Democrats will be joined by dissident Republicans.

HOW THE VETERANS PREFERENCE LAW WORKS

UNDER the Preference Law enacted by Congress in 1919 perhaps a quarter of the appointments in the United States Civil Service have been made from the veteran class. The act applies to all honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, marines, their widows, and the wives of injured soldiers, sailors, and marines who themselves are not physically qualified, but whose wives are qualified to hold Civil Service positions. Preference claimants obtaining a rating of 65 are eligible for appointment (all others are required to obtain a rating of 70) and are certified for appointment before all others.

As the law operates, we learn from the Civil Service Commission, it largely excludes men and women who are not on the preferred list from appointment in the ordinary clerical grades. In certain examinations preference claimants exhaust the openings for appointment. In certain others, it is hardly worth while for those not preferred to compete.

The Civil Service Commissioners are of the opinion that the present law is merely "an extremely expensive method of pensioning."

THE POST OFFICE, AIR MAIL SERVICE, AND CONGRESS

NOTHING, except a Constitutional amendment, can take from Congress final power over the National expenditures. Congress, however, in passing the Budget Law established a principle which as long as that law is on the statute-books should be faithfully adhered to.

Last week we pointed out that to adhere to this principle in the case of the Weeks Law required the sacrifice of something in which all conservationists heartily believe. If we accept this principle when it proves adverse to an interest with which we sympathize, it gives us all the better right to argue for it when it acts in favor of something else which we approve.

The budget as submitted to Congress contained a request for nearly two million dollars for the Air Mail Service during the next fiscal year. The House of Representatives has passed the annual Post Office Appropriation Bill without this appropriation. The Senate should put the item for the Air Mail back again for two reasons: first, to maintain the principle of the budget, and, second, because the Air Mail Service supplies a vital need.

THE PEOPLE DISCOVER THE PARKS

AT last tourists are appreciating our National Parks. Travel in them last year exceeded all previous records. The season brought no less than 1,171,000 visitors to the National Parks and the National Monuments. The increase is indicated by comparing this total with that of some other year—1916, for instance, when there were only some 356,000 visitors.

What is of equal interest, no less than sixty-five per cent of last year's visitors came in private motors, and of these at least half brought their own camp equipment and camped in the free public camp-grounds provided for them.

The visitors have learned to love our National areas as their very own, says the Director of the National Park Survey in his recent report. In no clearer manner, he adds, was this demonstrated than by the immediate protest that rang from one end of the country to the other when efforts were made to utilize some of the streams, lakes, and waterfalls in the parks for commercial purposes. "The action of Congress, as the exponent of the people's wishes, was equally strong and prompt, and as quickly as possible a law was passed that in effect prescribed that no foot of National Park or Monument territory can ever be used for such purposes until and unless Congress itself has thoroughly considered

the matter and given its consent in each individual case." This law applies to existing parks only; it should be amended so as to apply to any park which hereafter may be created.

There are nineteen National Park and twenty-four National Monument under the administration of the Interior Department, and ten National Monuments under that of the Department of Agriculture. The Yellowstone National Park, created fifty years ago, is still our best-known National area. Only one park, the Lafayette (Mount Desert Island) lies east of the Mississippi.

A great National Park-to-Park highway has been designated, including the larger National Parks in the West. As the highway passes through many States, they should mark their sections of it for early improvement, taking advantage of the State and Federal appropriations under the co-operative arrangements provided for by the recently passed Good Roads Act.

CHILDREN AND THE MOVIES

A QUESTIONNAIRE was sent out lately to three thousand Chicago school children. Its object was to get some light on the children's tastes and habits as regards moving pictures. The replies were amusing; they were also strongly indicative of the need of supervision of children's attendance at the movies by their parents and of some general and effective editing or censoring of movies that are seen by children. It is not surprising that eighty-seven per cent of the children who answered these queries attend movie performances at least once a week. It is a little surprising to find that the 2,610 pupils of six schools who attend movies spend in the aggregate \$920 a week, which would amount in a year to about \$46,000.

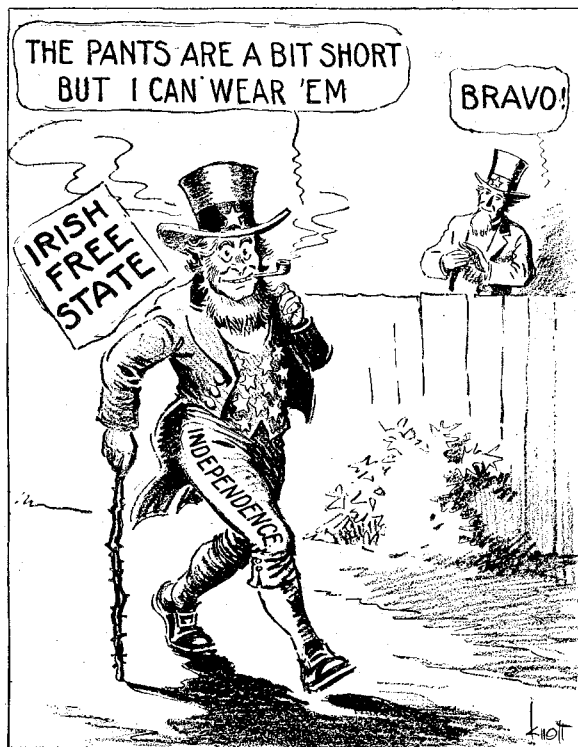
Attendance two or three times a week was general, and a very large proportion of the children went oftener. The maximum was reached by one boy who answered: "I go to the movies nine times a week—every night and the afternoon on Saturday and Sunday." Mrs. E. L. Moulton, who sent out this questionnaire in behalf of the Illinois Council of Parent-Teacher Associations, comments that the number of such replies as "I always go every Friday night as there is no school the next day," shows that the children go to the movies Friday night, Saturday, and Sunday, about as regularly as the old-fashioned child used to go to Sunday school on Sunday.

Some of the children's answers to the question, "What kind of pictures do you prefer?" were an amusing combination of attempts at what the children thought they ought to say and genuine

THE . . . TOP OF SOVEREIGNTY

(Macbeth, Act IV, Scene 1)

Knott in the Dallas News



UNCLE PAT

Eddie McGhee in the Ayrshire (Scotland) Post



BRITISH TRADE—"STILL GOIN' STRONG, ARE YE? SO AM I—TO THE DOGS!"

The figure in the tall hat is copied from the well-known advertisements in British newspapers of "Johnny Walker" whisky, whose slogan is "Still going strong." The liquor traffic in Britain is known as "The Trade."

From Rev. R. Atkinson, Kensington, Md.

Darling in the New York Tribune



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WHAT'S THE IDEA? SHE WAS ALWAYS HAPPY DOWN ON THE FARM, WASN'T SHE?

Sykes in the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger



LOOKS LIKE ROUGH SLEDDIN'

From Frederick Eissler, Philadelphia.

statements of the things they really liked. Here are a few samples:

"The pictures I like best are those which scare you," "Good sensible pictures where people are very poor and grow rich," "Guns and police wagons, because people are all sad and excited," "Travels with Burton Holmes," "Mystery, but not too deep," "Lots of fighting when men are brave and fight for a girl," "Good books like 'Pollyanna,'" "How things are made, pictures of fisheries, etc., and good Western scenery," "Educational pictures like The Lincoln Highwayman."

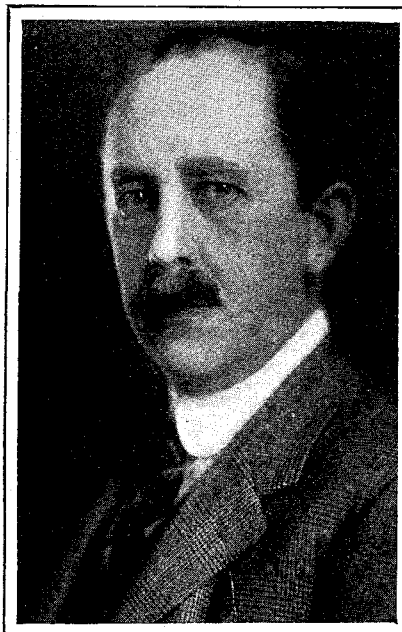
Mrs. Moulton sounds a hopeful note when she says: "The publicity given to surveys and discussions on this subject are arousing both parents and teachers to the vital need of improvement in the films on which boys and girls spend their leisure time."

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF MUSICIANS IN FRANCE

At the recent meeting of the Society of American Friends of Musicians in France, an organization founded to help French musicians in distress during the war, Mr. Walter Damrosch, the president, reported that, for this purpose, the Society had sent over more than 800,000 francs. At present the Society is devoting its energies towards helping two funds, the Fontainebleau Music School Fund and the Rheims Municipal Music School Fund.

The first fund is being used for the enrollment of the hundred American students for whom France founded the Summer School of Music last year. The French Government donated to it an entire wing of the palace of Fontainebleau. The School is under the protection of the French Ministry of Fine Arts and the Society of American Friends of Musicians in France. For the first time in history a nation has founded a school exclusively for the citizens of another friendly nation. *Vive la France!*

The Rheims fund is devoted to the maintenance of the Municipal Music School in that city, practically completely ruined by German shells. Before the war the School had been under the direction of M. Hansen, a distinguished French musician and pedagogue. As soon as the Rheims families again arrived in the city and rebuilding of their homes began he courageously opened the school, although its building had been entirely demolished by the German shells and the lessons had to be given in the evening (and are still being given) at the grammar school building, which during the day is occupied by its own pupils. But it is because of the gifts from the Society of American Friends of Musicians in France that M. Hansen has been able for the past three



(C) Harris & Ewing

COUNT LASZLO SZECHENYI, HUNGARIAN
MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

years to maintain his corps of excellent teachers, who give instruction in piano, violin, and singing to about three hundred boys and girls. The influence of this school has been notable, not only on the musical instruction but on the morale of the children, and indeed on that of the whole community, which still lives amid desolation and horrors and sees only very gradual reconstruction. The Society hopes to help the Rheims School and its private donors to rebuild its former home, and for the purpose the municipality has given a site opposite the Public Library, donated by the Carnegie Foundation.

THE REAL END OF THE WAR

THE Hungarian Parliament having approved the Treaty of Peace between the United States and the Kingdom of Hungary, ratifications have been exchanged and President Harding has issued a proclamation declaring an end to the state of war. This is the final act in ending the conflict between the United States and the Central Powers.

The Treaty is the third and final international compact entered into by us since last July with the Central Powers.

Now that the three treaties have been ratified, diplomatic appointments are in order. Hungary has been alert in the matter, and has appointed as her representative here Count Laszlo Széchenyi, son of the late Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to Berlin and grandnephew of the Hungarian statesman who was a member of Kossuth's Ministry in 1848. To the exertions of this Count Széchenyi were due the erection of the great suspension bridge between the cities of

Buda and Pest and the improvement of navigation on the river Danube. To go back another generation, we find that Count Széchenyi rode with Rákóczy in the revolt against the Hapsburg dynasty in the eighteenth century.

Count Laszlo Széchenyi is well known in this country because of his frequent visits here. His wife is an American, Gladys Vanderbilt. He has already presented to the President his credentials issued by the Governor of Hungary, Admiral Nicholas Horthy, and is thus in regular standing here as Minister from Hungary. He is the more satisfactory as Minister, for no other Hungarian, we believe, has had so large an opportunity to acquaint himself with conditions in America as they affect his native country.

MELANIE BAUER

WE record with sorrow the sudden and unexpected death after an operation for appendicitis of Miss Melanie Bauer, for twenty-two years a member of the stenographic staff of The Outlook. During the latter half of that period she performed important secretarial work in the editorial rooms. Her faithfulness, carefulness, cheerfulness and loyalty were a great aid to those who are charged with the responsibility of the editorial supervision of The Outlook, and both her presence and her efficient help will be sorely missed. In speaking of her to a fellow-member of the staff her mother referred to her as "a dutiful person." "Dutiful"—a fine word sometimes forgotten in these days of national and social readjustment. Duty was not irksome to Melanie Bauer—it was a pleasure; and she has left the impress of that truth upon her circle of friends and associates—a valuable and grateful legacy.

A BASIC INDUSTRY

AGRICULTURE is not only the largest industry in this country, it is the basic industry; for food, and cotton and wool for clothes, come before furniture, automobiles, or even movies. It is because the representatives in Congress of the farmers hold that general prosperity depends upon agricultural prosperity that they break party lines to urge legislation that shall give the farmers (who together make up the greatest single industry) equal economic and financial opportunities with men of other industries.

This is the theme of the article on "The Agricultural Bloc" by Senator Capper, of Kansas, which appears in this issue of The Outlook. It will do a great deal to dispel misapprehension

Whatever may be said as to exact remedies proposed, the author of the article makes it clear that the term *bloc* (novel in use in this country and used abroad to describe something quite different from what we now see in Congress) is not a factional or partisan thing. Nor is it a revival of wild Populist ideas, much less an imitation of Russian Sovietism. Political conservatives are common in the bloc. Senator Capper asserts that it is farthest from the thoughts of any of the men in the bloc that ultimately there should be "instead of Representatives and Senators from the several States, Representatives and Senators from steel, and from coal, and from railways, and from oil, and from agriculture, as appears to be the hope of the radical writers."

In former political combinations relating to industry, such as the one that "Pig Iron Kelly" once headed, there has been danger from grasping special interests in the sense of small combinations of large capitalists. But agriculture is a predominating, not a special, interest, and its "capitalists" are simple farmers counted by millions.

One sentence in Senator Capper's article is especially illuminating. He says that the term "agricultural bloc" describes a movement rather than a group. He means, we take it, that it is neither a bipartisan combination nor a new political party.

This will reassure those who fear that the farmers' united action represents a tendency toward government by the combination of groups rather than by the two-party political system. The shifting of political balance of power by the frequent coalition and breaking up of political groups has long had a dominant influence in France and Germany; and of late in Great Britain, what with the Labor party and the shifting about inside the present Coalition Government on such questions as Ireland and foreign policies, there has been a tendency toward group government.

The group system sometimes increases political flexibility, but it lessens responsibility and executive efficiency. The idea is not consonant with American government under our written Constitution. France may have, and has had, a Socialist Premier when the Socialist party had no parliamentary majority. With us there can be no premier; really the President is premier as well as the fixed executive head. Congress, to be sure, may change its political complexion within a President's term, but our plan of checks and balances rests chiefly on the Presidential elections. A combination of political groups in Congress, constantly seeking such alliances as would make a vic-

torious opposition party, is quite out of our political probabilities—and would probably be injurious even if it were practical.

The measures proposed in Congress for farmers' protection or relief should be considered, therefore, with relation to their soundness and justice. There is no reason to fear that they portend political or social revolution.

A GREAT AMERICAN AMBASSADOR

WE have already referred to the articles relating to "The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page" which have been appearing in the "World's Work." The chapter published in the January issue of that periodical



WALTER H. PAGE

is extraordinary in more ways than one. It brings to light, or at least brings into clear light, facts about English and American relations in the war not heretofore fully understood; it brings out strongly the personal character and the deep patriotism of the American Ambassador and of the English Foreign Secretary; it contains two or three stories of diplomacy that are intensely amusing.

Americans recognized Walter Page's ability long ago, but so great was his modesty and reserve that few people realize fully what a service he did in the war. So as to Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey; the incidents in this article describe his forbearance and his abstention from passion or irritability when he might well have been vexed and angry. We are even told that "the time came when a section of the British public was prepared almost to stone the Foreign Secretary in the streets of London, because they believed that his 'subservience' to American trade interests was losing the war for Great Britain."

Mr. Page at the outbreak of war accepted the President's neutrality proclamation as right and proper; but "the President's famous emendations ["We must be impartial in thought as well as

in action," and so on] filled him with astonishment and dismay." What could have been his feeling, then, when he learned that it was only Colonel House's strenuous efforts that prevented our State Department from sending to Great Britain a note which would have been almost equivalent to a declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain? The witness in the case is Colonel House himself, who, in a letter to Mr. Page dated October 3, 1914, said:

Sir Cecil [the British Ambassador to the United States, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice] told me that if the dispatch had gone to you as written and you had shown it to Sir Edward Grey, it would almost have been a declaration of war; and that if, by any chance, the newspapers had got hold of it, as they so often get things from our State Department, the greatest panic would have prevailed. He said it would have been the Venezuela incident magnified by present conditions.

We all remember the time when feeling was strong in this country as to the seizure or detention by England of neutral ships bound to neutral countries but carrying goods which were either contraband or very close to contraband, goods the ultimate destination of which was undoubtedly Germany. There was danger that the situation of 1812 should arise again. Great Britain might as well have given up hopes of escaping German domination if she did not stop raw material from getting to Germany. The enormous and unnatural amount of exports that were going to countries bordering on Germany proved that these things (such as cotton, to be made into guncotton, copper for shells, rubber for military purposes, and so on) did, in fact, get into Germany.

Our Ambassador, Mr. Page, and Sir Edward Grey were straining every effort to prevent friction between the United States and England. Just then Mr. Bryan, with his usual tactfulness, thought it was a good time to force upon Great Britain the acceptance of the Declaration of London. England had never ratified it, nor any other nation except the United States. Its acceptance entire would have ruined England. If the note prepared in the State Department above referred to had gone through, it would have been practically a demand from America to England that she should throw away every chance of winning the war. Page wrote House that he would resign if Lansing pressed the Declaration again after four flat rejections by England.

Meanwhile, England was treating the neutrals whose property was involved with the utmost fairness and paying big prices for everything taken. Mr. Page,

in a letter to Colonel House, says, "We can get damages without a quarrel; or we can have a quarrel and probably get damages. Now, why in God's name should we provoke a quarrel?"

Later, when feeling ran still higher, came up the Dacia case. The ship was under American registry, but she was filled with cotton meant for Germany. It was known that the Dacia would be seized if she sailed for a German port. This was the amusing outcome:

When matters had reached this pass Page one day dropped into the Foreign Office.

"Have you ever heard of the British fleet, Sir Edward?" he asked.

Grey admitted that he had, though the question obviously puzzled him.

"Yes," Page went on musingly, "we've all heard of the British fleet. Perhaps we have heard too much about it. Don't you think it's had too much advertising?"

The Foreign Secretary looked at Page with an expression that implied a lack of confidence in his sanity.

"But have you ever heard of the French fleet?" the American went on. "France has a fleet, too, I believe."

Sir Edward granted that.

"Don't you think that the French fleet ought to have a little advertising?"

"What on earth are you talking about?"

"Well," said Page, "there's the Dacia. Why not let the French fleet seize it and get some advertising?"

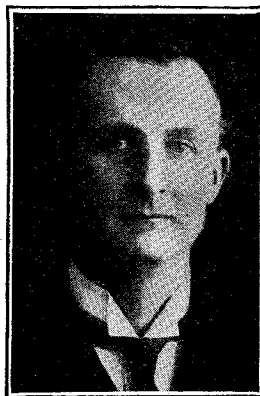
A gleam of understanding immediately shot across Grey's face.

"Yes," he said, "why not let the Belgian royal yacht seize it?"

This suggestion from Page was one of the great inspirations of the war. It amounted to little less than genius.

So, instead of a British cruiser, a French cruiser seized the Dacia. She was promptly condemned by a French prize court and "there was not even a ripple of hostility."

The relations between Sir Edward Grey and our Ambassador were friendly and even amusing, although each was doing his best for his own country's advantage. One day Page was in Grey's office and he noticed on the wall the canceled fifteen-million-dollar check with which Great Britain paid the Alabama claims. The British are proud of the check—first, because they are good sports; second, because the settlement by arbitration of the Alabama claims was a great advance in international peace relations. Page and Grey were discussing this matter of the detention of the American cargoes when Page had a sudden idea; he pointed to the Alabama check and said, "If you don't stop these seizures, Sir Edward, some day you will have your entire room papered with notes like that!" Sir Edward later "got back" by remarking, after he had read one of Mr. Bryan's rasping, undiplomatic notes, "This reads as though



VISCOUNT GREY

they thought that they are still talking to George III!"

The whole story of Walter Page's dealings with Sir Edward Grey is one that should make every American proud of such representation at one of the most critical diplomatic periods of our history.

POPE BENEDICT XV

WHEN the great World War broke upon startled Europe, there were only two courses between which the Roman Catholic Church might choose. It might perceive the cause and comprehend the meaning of the war, it might see in it a new phase of the perpetual conflict between an unscrupulous militarism and human rights, it might resent with indignation the repudiation by a great military nation of its solemn pledge by the invasion of Belgium, and condemn with eloquent wrath the repudiation of the moral law as well as of civilized warfare in the barbarism with which the invasion of France and Belgium was carried on. Or it might hold itself aloof from a conflict in which German and Austrian Catholics were arrayed against French and Belgian Catholics, hold its peace, and wait for the war to come to its inevitable close and then exercise its good offices in an endeavor to bring about such a peace as might issue eventually in an era of international good will. If the Roman Catholic Church had pursued the first of these courses and had succeeded where success was certainly doubtful and perhaps impossible, it would have saved millions of lives, thousands of desolated and devastated homes, prevented the incitement of vengeful national passions which will outlast the century, and not impossibly have changed the history of the world.

But if the Protestant student of current history is inclined to lament the fact that Cardinal Mercier did not occupy the throne of Benedict XV, and that a spirit of self-sacrificing, heroic courage did not animate the Vatican

instead of the spirit of self-preserving caution, he must remember three facts: Cardinal Mercier in Belgium throughout his brilliant and never-to-be-forgotten duel with the German military authorities was supported by a united State and a united Church within that State. His priests were not less brave than their brave leader and as ready for self-sacrifice as he. But Pope Benedict XV had neither a united Church nor a united State behind him. Italy was divided in sentiment for months after the war opened. It may be safely assumed that the Italian Church was equally divided, and it is by no means certain whether a Papal denunciation of the criminal course of the Central Powers would have strengthened or weakened the war party in Italy. The critic must also remember that any such condemnation of the crimes which eventually united almost the entire civilized world against the national criminals would almost certainly have rent the Roman Catholic Church in twain. Its strongest support in Europe was Austria; its next strongest support was southern Germany. Both Austria and Germany would have remained Catholic, but not Roman Catholic. And no Treaty of Versailles could have united the dis-severed Church when the war came to an end. It must also be remembered that every one of us is limited in his powers by his temperament. Pope Benedict XV was temperamentally a harmonizer, not a fighter. If the compromising Pope and the uncompromising Cardinal could have changed places, it is certain that the Pope could not have done what Cardinal Mercier did in Belgium and it is not certain that Cardinal Mercier could have done what the Pope did in Rome. The latter appeared to sacrifice something of the moral power of the Church in order to hold it together; but it is doubtful whether he could have held it together if he had ventured to make full use of its moral power.

Whatever idealists may think upon this question, only a limited and decreasing number of irreconcilables can fail to see in current events some facts to be passed to the credit of the Pope's pacific temper. There is, I think, very little doubt that his influence has been exerted to assuage the anti-English passion of the Irish and make possible the treaty of peace between England and Ireland. The Vatican knows how to keep its secrets, and what its influence has been during the recent pontificate is a matter of surmise, not of public record; but it cannot be doubted that the growth of friendly relations between the Church and the State in Italy is not a little due to the friendly spirit of

Benedict XV carrying forward the pacific policy of his immediate predecessor. That the Roman Catholic Church will ever recognize any clergy as legitimately ordained except its own I think highly improbable. I do not see how it can consistently do so. But the esteem and respect for the late Pope and the sympathy for the bereaved Church of which he was the head expressed in public utterances by both Protestants and Jews indicate at least that the bit-

terness of hostility which formerly existed has to a considerable degree abated, and for this a due measure of praise is due to the kindly spirit of Benedict XV.

Our readers will know who has been elected Benedict's successor soon after this editorial reaches them. I venture to express the hope that the College of Cardinals will have the wisdom to elect as the Pope's successor an ecclesiastic of a like spirit and committed to a con-

tinuance of a like policy. The world has many lessons to learn, but none of more immediate importance than how to secure and maintain justice and liberty by peaceful measures and reasonable compromises. In teaching that lesson all branches of the Christian Church can exert a commanding influence, and no branch of that Church a greater influence than the Roman Catholic communion.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

THE POPE DIES AND HIS MANTLE FALLS

"GIACOMO, Giacomo, Giacomo," cried Cardinal Gasparri early in the morning of January 22 as he waved a silver wand over the lifeless form of Giacomo della Chiesa, Benedict XV, Supreme Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church. There was a moment of silence, and then the Cardinal proclaimed, "*Papa noster mortuus est.*"

The Pope had died an hour or two before. He was only sixty-seven years old—an early age to mark the death of a Roman pontiff. His life had doubtless been shortened by the strain of the recent war.

Benedict XV was born at Pegli, a suburb six miles north of Genoa—visitors are attracted to Pegli because of the wonderful Pallavicini gardens there. Giacomo's father was the Marquis della Chiesa. The boy was undersized and sickly, but had great mental power. He was educated for the priesthood, and shortly after entering it Monsignor, later Cardinal, Rampolla, Nuncio in Spain, engaged him as secretary. As Rampolla became one of the most remarkable ecclesiastical statesmen of his time, the secretary had exceptional training and made good use of it. He became Archbishop of Bologna, and in 1914 Cardinal. Four months later he was chosen Pope, a remarkable promotion. He had not been regarded as among the *papabili*—those likely to be elected. Neither had his immediate predecessors. They all fulfilled the saying, "He who enters the Conclave a prospective Pope emerges therefrom still a cardinal." Moreover, Benedict was only sixty years old, one of the youngest pontiffs of recent times.

As may be gathered from his association with Rampolla, the new Pope represented a reversion to the statesman type of Leo XIII rather than to the spiritual type of Leo's successor, Pius X. While Benedict had not Leo XIII's brilliancy and shrewdness, he well understood the tendencies of the time and attempted to put the Church in line with them.

His liberal statesmanship is evidenced by the fact that early in his pontificate the Pope issued a rescript concerning the Jews about which the "American

Hebrew" said: "There is no statement that equals this direct unmistakable plea for equality for the Jews and against prejudice upon religious grounds." Benedict also reconciled France with the Vatican, and there is now a resumption of diplomatic relations; he even induced England to resume such relations. He removed the Papal order forbidding Catholic kings and rulers to visit the King of Italy, and, opposing Pius IX's policy, allowed the faithful to take their part in the Italian Government, legislative and executive. The Catholic party, the so-called "Popolari," now has a quar-

ter of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and has three Ministers in the Cabinet. The Vatican and the Quirinal are becoming reconciled. This is Benedict XV's greatest accomplishment. Hence, for the first time in the history of modern Italy, the Italian Government ordained that, in honor of a dead Pope, flags should be half-masted on all public buildings, amusement places closed, and two days' mourning observed.

On the Pope's death, Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, directed the Dean of the Sacred College of Car-



International

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dinals to summon them to the Vatican for two purposes: first, to observe the Novendial, or the nine-day mourning and obsequies after the death of a Pope; and, second, on the tenth day, to be present at the beginning of the Conclave of Cardinals for the election of a new Pope. This election is always a solemn and vitally important affair, for the Roman Catholic Church, the greatest corporation in the world, is perhaps the only one whose president has power to compel absolutely unquestioning obedience. The Church rules by its cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and then through the laity. But all are subject to the direction of one head. From his judgment there is no appeal, because, according to the Roman Catholic view, the apostolic successor of St. Peter heads a church organization which has come directly from Christ. Roman Catholics interpret literally the words of Jesus: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." The Pope is thus Christ's vicegerent.

And yet any Roman Catholic of legal age may aspire to the Papacy. Since the election of Adrian V (1276), however, no one not a priest has been elected, and

since the election of Urban VI (1378) no one, we believe, but a cardinal has been elected.

The full number of cardinals is seventy. Actually there are only sixty; of them, thirty-one are Italians. But the Sacred College when it meets in conclave is rarely, if ever, complete. Especially is this true in these days when cardinals must come from the ends of the earth, while the Conclave must begin on the tenth day after the Pope's death.

For the Conclave, part of the palace of the Vatican, including the Sistine Chapel, is walled off. From it all but cardinals, their secretaries and servants, are excluded. The door to the outer world is not opened except to admit some cardinal late in arriving. The food is sent up from a kitchen below.

In the election of a new Pope two ballots are taken every day in the Sistine Chapel. Cardinals are seated along the walls. Before each seat is a table with paper, ink, pens, and a list of the members of the Sacred College. In the middle of the Chapel, on a table, stand two vases. In one of them the ballots are cast; in the other they are placed when counted. Each cardinal deposits his ballot, repeating at the same time this

formula: "*Testor Christum dominum qui me judicaturus est, me eligere quem secundum Deum judico elegi debere*"—that is to say, "I call to witness the Lord Christ, who will be my judge, that I am electing the one who, according to God, I think ought to be elected."

The ballots are cast. In the corner of the Chapel is a small stove in which they are afterwards burned. Straw is used to make the smoke from the chimney dense, and so a sign to those outside that a vote has been taken. If thick smoke does not appear at the usual time for voting, the crowd outside assumes that a Pope has been elected. The final votes are burned like the rest, but no straw is used in the burning, hence the smoke is white.

A two-thirds vote is necessary to elect. As soon as an election occurs the successful candidate announces his acceptance of the office and the cardinals then conduct him to the altar, robe him in Papal garments, and do homage to him. The wall is torn down and a cardinal announces the Papal election to the people outside.

When the present Conclave elects, it will have chosen the two hundred and sixtieth successor of St. Peter.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM WASHINGTON

BY ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT

I. THE OPEN DOOR—A FACT OR A MOTTO?

AS I approached the news-stand I saw that the newsman was talking across the counter to a customer; and when I caught his words he was in the middle of a sentence:

"... when I was in the Philippines. And do you suppose the Government would do anything to help me get home? Not on your life! And that was where the American flag flew. Just the same in Shanghai. Just the same in Mexico. If you get into any difficulty don't expect to get any help from the American Consul. No, sir! No use to see him. You go to the British Consul. 'Evening Star'? Yes, sir; that's right. Two cents."

That, in the terms of one man's experience, states fairly well the reputation which the American Government has for looking out for the welfare and interests of American citizens in foreign countries. There is a saying to this effect: "If you want information, call on the German Consul; if you want protection, call on the British Consul; if you want a drink, call on the American Consul." Like all current sayings, it is significant as evidence, not of the truth, but of what is commonly believed to be the truth. American travelers or residents abroad do not expect their Government to stand by them as the British Government stands by British subjects.

Of course Administrations differ in this respect. Under President Roosevelt, the American Government took care to see that American citizens in foreign lands were protected; but even then when John Hay sent his famous telegram, "We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead," and thus secured the release of an American citizen from captivity by a Moroccan bandit, he called his message a "concise impropriety." Under President Taft, Mr. Knox, as Secretary of State, followed a policy of supporting, to some degree at least, the commercial interests of Americans in China; but he did not fare altogether well, and was criticised by his own fellow-countrymen for pursuing what was called "dollar diplomacy." Under President Wilson, Mr. Bryan reversed that policy and followed a course which was widely understood as virtually notifying all Americans that if they set foot on foreign soil they did so at their own risk. No other great country has ever had a policy like that. On the contrary, nations which are strong enough to do so make it a practice of standing behind their nationals (that is, their subjects if the nation is a monarchy, their citizens if a republic). They not only undertake to see that the right of their nationals to life and liberty is preserved, or if violated is vindicated, but also act on

the assumption that in any dispute over property rights between their nationals in a foreign country and the nationals or the government of that country, their own nationals are to be defended. This has led to what has been termed "economic imperialism," and in certain cases to the extension of political power over alien lands.

If all peoples of the world were equally civilized, the extreme American policy could with safety, and in fact with general benefit, be universally adopted; but there are great areas of the world in which the people are uncivilized or in a primitive stage of civilization; and there are areas in which the people, though possessing a highly developed civilization in some respects, lack a stable or trustworthy government with which the governments of other peoples can deal or on which they can rely. It is because most of Asia which is not colonized by Western Powers is such a region that the nations now gathered at Washington are engaged in trying to solve those problems that are grouped under the term Far Eastern Affairs.

The anomaly of this Conference (one that could not well have been avoided) is China. She is both doctor and patient. She is one of the sovereign nations engaged in discussing the prob-

ems; and yet she has a Government so feeble, so entangled with itself, so corrupt, so incompetent, that it has occasioned the very problems under discussion. In fact, the problems there would be more easily solved in some respects if China had no government at all. The status of foreigners and foreign interests has been complicated by the fact that in some cases these foreigners, in other cases foreign governments on their behalf, have entered into agreements with such government as China has had, or with Chinese officials or provincial authorities. Many of these agreements are of long standing and form the basis of commercial and social life. Some of them have been secret. Some of them were imposed upon the Chinese against their will; others were welcomed by the Chinese as preferable to the arbitrary dictates of their own corrupt officials. But, just or unjust, they constitute a body of restrictions that make it impossible, as long as they last, for any government that China may have to exercise freely the functions of sovereignty. Furthermore, so disorganized is China that there is no universal agreement as to what China is. Does China include Tibet? It does, according to the "Constitution" of the Chinese "Republic;" but according to the practice of other nations, the British, for example, it in fact does not. Mongolia—is that a part of China? One of the Japanese delegates was asked that question, and he declined to commit himself. How about Manchuria? The Japanese acknowledge that to be a part of China, for their claims to certain rights in Manchuria rest upon agreements they made with the Chinese Government under Yuan Shi-kai. If, however, ruling authority is the test, it might be quite as accurate to say that the region around Peking is a part of Manchuria, for a large part of northern China is under the domination of the Manchurian general, Chang Tso-lin. Under such conditions the nations that place their power behind the claims of their own subjects or citizens are bound to be in conflict with such authority as China has and with one another. America has citizens in China, but has never uniformly and persistently put force behind their claims. It is true that at the time of the Boxer outbreak America joined with other nations in restoring order; but even then she did not keep all the money that was paid by China to her as indemnity, but returned to China all that was not needed for reimbursement for loss, as she did in a similar case concerning Japan. As a consequence, the United States is trusted in China as is no other country, but American interests suffer from a certain disadvantage.

For a nation, under such circumstances, to back its nationals "to the hilt" means war. There is only one alternative; that is to adjust the differences and to come to some common agreement.

It is precisely this alternative that this Conference is attempting to adopt as a policy for all the nations involved.

That, however, is not a simple and easy task. It means that all the interested nations must join in the undertaking. It cannot be carried through if one holds out.

Even then the task is not really under way. If all the nations with interests in China should honestly attempt to cooperate in adjusting their conflicting interests, they would simply be forming a combination to exploit China, dividing the spoils, but rendering China more than ever helpless. They cannot really begin to find a solution for the problems of the Far East unless they find a way by which China herself can become responsible for fulfilling her side of each contract. There must not only be a square deal among the Powers, but also a square deal to China. They must hold China's government to account for what it does; but they must also give China a chance to secure a government that can be held to account.

At this Conference the tendency is to do just this. It might have been to form an international syndicate, a sort of corporation of nations, to take over the task of doing for China what she has been unable or unwilling to do for herself. That, however, is not what these nations have done. The evident purpose is to make every arrangement with the object of assisting China ultimately to take upon herself the authority and responsibility that has been distributed among many hands, Chinese and foreign.

Of the nations represented here, the one obviously most reluctant to commit herself to practical measures for carrying out this plan is Japan. For this reluctance it is hard to blame her. By her nearness to China she has a great advantage which other nations do not possess. With the collapse of Russia and with the elimination of Germany as a dangerous competitor in Shantung, Japan has a chance for exploiting China which she does not eagerly forego. In fact, she made the best of this advantage during the World War. One can recognize this fact and at the same time acknowledge the sincerity and common sense of those Japanese who say, as did the Japanese Ambassador to the United States, Baron Shidehara, the other day:

Apart from any sentiment in the matter, it is directly to Japan's interest to associate herself with the other Powers in agreements tending to stabilize China's domestic as well as her foreign relations. . . . By making the Open Door and equal opportunity a fact instead of a motto, as Mr. Hughes has said, Japan cannot fail to be benefited as well as China, and by regulating and making public established rights in the future the dangerous system of seeking improper advantages will be terminated.

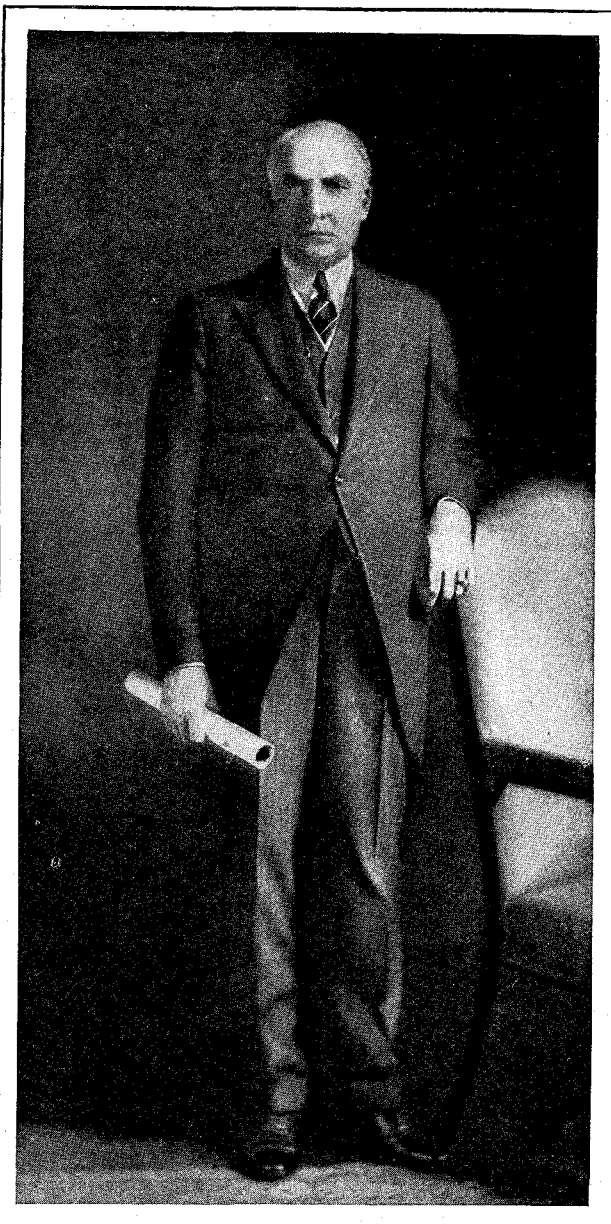
There are Japanese who take this broad view and yet are reluctant to risk

the loss of what Japan as a late comer into the enterprise of getting spheres of influence in China has gained. The objections raised in this Conference to any plan which might occasion doubts about existing privileges have been chiefly raised by Japan.

Some of those privileges, however, have been secured since the time when John Hay obtained from all the Powers interested in China assent to his Open Door Doctrine. This policy announced anew here at Washington is not new. It was established by Mr. Hay and reiterated by the agreement jointly signed by Mr. Root (Mr. Hay's successor as Secretary of State) and the then Japanese Minister to the United States, Baron Takahira. In the later Lansing-Ishii Agreement it was, in Japanese opinion, modified, because that recognized that Japan had special interests in China. Whether modified or not, however, it has not been uniformly observed. Japan's Twenty-one Demands upon China constituted an open disregard of the principle. Unless, therefore, the Powers are to revert to the cutthroat competition that was making of China a mere prey and was leading to conflicts and inevitable war, they must stop seeking special monopolistic privileges, and they must let everything they have done or hereafter do be known to the world. The Open Door, if it is to be a fact instead of a motto, involves, then, the double policy of self-denial and publicity.

To make the policy of self-denial effectual the Conference, after a long discussion, evolved from a proposal by Mr. Hughes a resolution consisting of three articles. By the first the Western nations and Japan agreed not to seek or support their nationals in seeking any general superiority of rights in China, or such monopoly as would deprive other nationals of the right of undertaking any trade or industry or would frustrate the practical application of equal opportunity. Of course this would not apply to patents or copyrights, as was made plain by an additional sentence. By the second China bound herself to observe this principle in dealing with all foreign nations. By the third the Conference arranged for the establishment of a Board of Reference to which disputes concerning conflicting claims could be brought for investigation and not decision but report. A fourth resolution, providing that existing claims could by common consent be brought before the Board of Reference, was withdrawn by a British delegate (Sir Robert Borden) when Japan objected. Inasmuch, however, as nothing prevents any two parties to a dispute from bringing an existing claim before the Board, anyway, the withdrawal was significant only as an indication that apparently every nation (certainly Great Britain as well as America) was willing to refer to the Board its existing claims as well as any future claims it may have, except Japan.

Then the Conference proceeded to



(C) 1921 G. Prince. From an unpublished photograph taken in the White House and approved by the President.

WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING

PERHAPS the least conspicuous of all the great figures of the Armament Conference has been that of the man who called it. Mr. Harding has not driven; but he has led. There are some who believe that the best way to get joint action among men is for one of them to tell the rest what to do. Mr. Harding has never acted on that theory. In his home town of Marion he was a leader in local affairs because he could get men together to talk matters over and come to a common understanding for common action. In the conduct of his newspaper he secured co-operation by making his associates, as it were, his partners. Now he has acted in the same way upon seeing the need for joint action among nations. And because of his belief in the power of public opinion, he has secured, through the press (which as a newspaper man he values), the co-operation, not merely of statesmen, but of peoples. His belief in the usefulness of neighborliness he shares with what is called the average citizen. This is his one big contribution to the affairs of state. And now Mr. Lloyd George follows him and talks in the same way of the proposed Conference at Genoa. The Harding Doctrine is spreading. And, having started this Conference at Washington, President Harding has stepped into the background and left Mr. Hughes to guide the assembled delegates in the attempt to make an international neighborhood out of the nations they represent.

apply this principle of equal opportunity through self-denial to the specific question of railway management. Within a nation's sphere of influence in China its nationals might easily be made the beneficiaries of discrimination in rates or facilities. Indeed, the charge has frequently been made that on the South Manchuria Railway, which is under Japan's control, Japanese receive privileges which are denied to other nationals. So all the nations, including China, promised not to exercise or permit unfair discrimination on the railways in China, in particular in respect of nationality as to passengers, or origin or destination of goods, or of the ship on which they may be conveyed after or before transportation on the railways, and all these Powers agreed that any question of such discrimination might be referred to the Board of Reference. At Mr. Hughes's suggestion, the nations recorded their hope that all the railways (now under diverse control, some of them under foreign ownership and management, some Chinese Government lines) would ultimately be unified into a system under Chinese control.

(This, by the way, does not include the Chinese Eastern Railroad, which is a problem by itself, for it was built by Russia as a continuation of the Trans-Siberian Railway, is owned mainly (seventy-five per cent) by French stockholders, and is now under the control of an interallied commission headed by an American. This railway is still under consideration, with a view possibly to ultimate restoration to a regenerated Russia.)

Having thus dealt with the policy of equality through self-denial, as I call it, the nations turned their attention to equality through publicity. After a prolonged discussion, which I have not the space here to report, the nations at the Conference agreed to publish all the agreements with China or concerning China of which they had knowledge, in so far as they affected China's international relations. Of course this does not include private contracts for the sale of ordinary goods; but it does include such matters as the sale of munitions, and of course all treaties or conventions between China and other nations, and treaties or conventions between foreign nations concerning China, or agreements between foreign nationals and the Chinese Government. There is a provision in the Covenant of the League of Nations for the publication of all future treaties, but the Washington plan concerns all treaties now in force, and includes such agreements to which private or corporate persons are parties that are international in scope. The resolution incorporating these provisions is elaborate and detailed. It provides that all such agreements shall be filed with the Secretariat of the Conference, and that China shall notify all these nations of any agreement she or any local authority has with any one of them or any other foreign nation or any of their nationals.

And it invites other Powers to adhere to this agreement.

In the meantime the nations assembled here reverted to the policy of self-denial and agreed not to support "any agreement by their respective nationals with each other designed to create spheres of influence or to provide for the enjoyment of exclusive opportunity in designated parts of Chinese territory."

So far as I have been able to learn at this time, the best friends of China are extraordinarily gratified by this record of progress. Not until now has there been in all of China's history so

concerted an action to end the rivalries and conflicts that have made of her an almost passive cause of war. The few who sneer at what has been done because of what has not been done are not serving China or the cause of international good will. It is true that all that has been done is as yet tentative. It is still in the committee stage. It has yet to be assembled into a common agreement.

One or two questions undecided can hold up progress on all the rest. The process of consulting in two or three languages is necessarily slow, par-

ticularly when discussion has to wait for answers to inquiries sent by cable half-way around the world. This is not a congress or legislature. Nothing can be carried over the protest of a minority. Even when adopted here, each conclusion remains inconclusive until at least the Senate here and the corresponding authorities in other countries approve it. Then the achievements of these past few days, obscured as they have been by public interest in other contemporary events, will be recognized as not the least among the products of this Conference.

II. THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

BEGINNING with President Harding and virtually closing with William Jennings Bryan, the first session of the National Agricultural Conference was furnished with one striking contrast. Mr. Harding, dignified, reposeful, suave, commanded by his bearing, his temperament, and his manner respectful and sympathetic attention and won approval. Mr. Bryan, by turns informal, oratorical, fiery, scathing, elicited applause, laughter, and even yells, and confirmed in the faith those who agreed with him. Mr. Bryan appealed to the narrow motive of class welfare by saying that there had been no time in thirty years when there had not been a Wall Street bloc; the difference being that, while the Wall Street bloc acted secretly, the agricultural bloc acted openly. Mr. Harding, on the other hand, appealed to the motive of National welfare by saying that the farmer's interest is a truly National interest, and not entitled to be regarded as primarily the concern of either a class or a section, "or," he added, departing from his prepared address, "a bloc." But that was not the only contrast in this the first conference of its kind.

The setting and the audience furnished a contrast quite as striking. The ballroom of the New Willard Hotel is not exactly one's notion of a normal farm environment. It isn't quite as ornate as the Clock Hall at Paris, where the Peace Conference sat, but its scheme of decoration hardly suggests the closeness to nature, the vigor of open-air life, the daily contact with hard reality, the virile struggle, that characterize the constant experience of men who are proud to be known as "dirt farmers." And the men who constituted that assemblage were in face and bearing typical of the multitudes who are to-day, as they always have been, the strength of this country. Here and there I could see a gray beard, but for the most part bronzed, firmly featured, clean-shaven faces set above strong, well-knit bodies. To look at these men was enough to confirm one's faith in the permanence of the Republic. If appearance was any guide at all, these three hundred men or so had qualities that explain the

Nation's stability—qualities of common sense, trustworthiness, persistence, intelligence, courage.

There was, however, a yet stronger contrast, but one not visible. These men came from every State in the Union. They represent fully one-third, perhaps more nearly one-half, of the population. Not all of them are "dirt farmers." Not a few of them are manufacturers or distributors. All, however, represent that part of the population whose livelihood depends directly upon agriculture and the callings allied with it. And these men, almost without exception, have been encountering conditions that literally constitute disaster.

It was during the first day's session that man after man reported agriculture carried on, not only without profit, but actually at a heavy loss. Potato growers and dairymen of the north-eastern States, cotton planters of the South, farmers of the corn belt, people of the wheat country, stock raisers East and West alike have had to market their products at prices below cost of production and transportation, and all are facing conditions ahead of them that look still worse. In some cases the farmers of entire communities have been virtually without purchasing power for two years. Contrast with that picture of conditions the tone of the spokesmen for these sections. In some other countries it would be the tone of Communism and even Bolshevism. Here the tone was that of sober, reasonable readjustment, fair dealing, and progress. Even the most radical measures of relief that any one advocated were defended, not by means of a plea for class or group privilege, but by arguments for the removal of alleged exceptional disabilities. The most radical utterances came from the spokesman from North Dakota—the home of the Non-Partisan League—and from Mr. Bryan; and, though these utterances might be opposed on the ground that they were economically unsound, they could hardly be tolerated by the most tolerant of revolutionary Socialists.

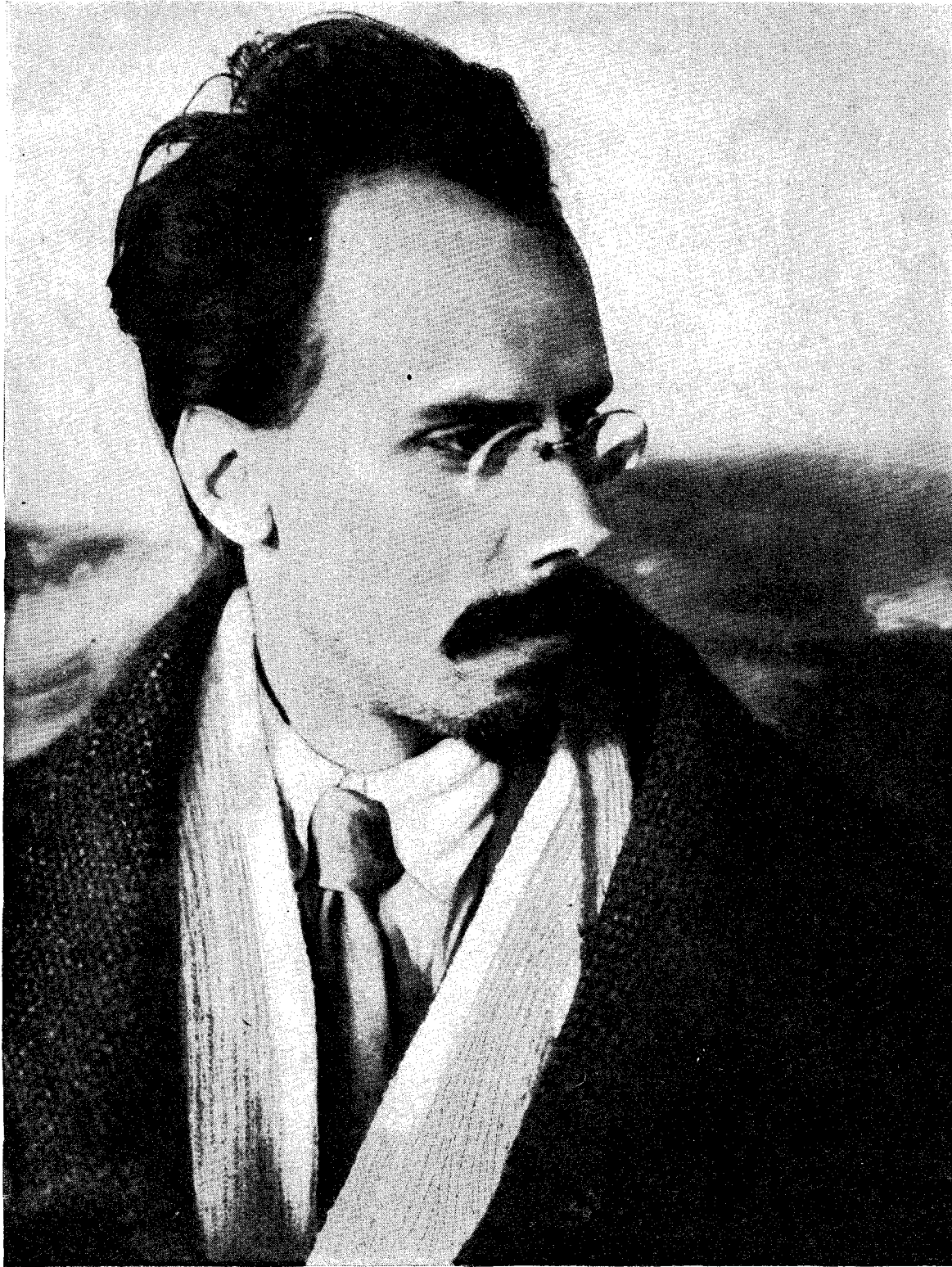
What is certain to save such a situation is a sense of humor. No people with a sense of humor could find them-

selves in the plight of Russia. If any American has a sense of humor, it is the American farmer. It was a Vermonter at this Conference who described the farmers' plight by the following story: A farmer drove to the town one evening in his buggy. He went to the general store, where he imbibed too freely. When he got into his buggy, the old mare lay down in her tracks. As he took up the reins he clucked and said, "Git up, there, Nell, or I'll drive right over you." The American farmer, said the speaker, is like the old mare. He left it to his hearers to infer that the rest of the country cannot go on till the farmer gets back on his feet.

The President's speech evidently made a great impression on his audience. Indeed, it was not so much a speech as a paper, read in even, distinct tones, without any effort at oratory. He pointed out that there were really two problems in the present state of agriculture. One was the problem of meeting an existing emergency; the other was one of providing a permanent modification of policy. He reviewed briefly the history of landownership, showing how "the ownership of the land became the symbol of favor and aristocracy, while the working of it was the task of menials," and how the soil has gradually been emancipated from this low estate. He urged changes in the law adapting credit to the farmer's turnover period, and giving the same access to ample capital which the business man enjoys. He indorsed the movement toward cooperative action in farm marketing. He urged measures to prevent fluctuations in production, possibly having in mind the principle of cutting down the peaks of production and filling up the troughs which was applied in the Conference on Unemployment. He suggested electrification of railways as a benefit to agriculture, and he definitely indorsed the St. Lawrence waterway project to extend the seaways to the inland of the continent. He urged reclamation and forestry. And he put before his hearers his estimate of the farmers' profession as calling for the highest intelligence, the greatest versatility, and the best training.

January 23, 1922.

PORTRAIT STUDIES OF



Keystone View Co.

MELUTIN, ASSISTANT CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL FOR ECONOMY

They do not much resemble the Bolsheviki of the popular cartoonist—but the
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TWO BOLSHEVIK LEADERS



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MADAME KOLONTAI, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

discrepancy does not make their political and economic theories any the sounder

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THE AGRICULTURAL BLOC

WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT ISN'T

BY ARTHUR CAPPER

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM KANSAS

WHEN a bright reporter a few months ago hit upon the term "agricultural bloc" to describe a group of men in Congress who had come together to discuss plans for furthering certain legislation, he probably had little idea that he was employing a phrase that in a short time would cause certain interests to become greatly agitated whenever they heard it used or saw it in print. One cannot know, of course, but the probability is that if the newspaper correspondents had contented themselves merely with saying that a number of Senators and Representatives had held a conference to consider such legislation and how best to hasten its enactment by Congress, the great furor that has followed the formation of the so-called agricultural bloc would not have occurred. It likewise is probable that a number of misapprehensions apparently quite generally held in regard to this group of men might not have followed.

The men who constitute the so-called bloc, however, have no complaint to make because an apt designation has led to some rather generally held misunderstandings of their purposes, for there can be no question that a real service was performed in their behalf in the selection of the name bestowed upon them. The publicity that has flowed from this designation is not without its value to the bloc in attaining its ends. Still there can be no question that many people are under some misconceptions as to what the agricultural bloc is and intends.

First of all, the bloc is not a Soviet movement, as some radicals appear to think, and as they undoubtedly hope it will become. Such an idea is ludicrous to one who knows the men who are in the movement. There is not a man among them who can honestly be termed a radical. It is farthest from the thoughts of any of the men that ultimately there should be, instead of Representatives and Senators from the several States, Representatives and Senators from steel, and from coal, and from railways, and from oil, and from agriculture, as appears to be the hope of the radical writers. Rather, the agricultural bloc would be for the eradication of such tendency so far as it already has appeared in our Government. It is because the great producing part of the population too often have been the victims of special interests that the agricultural bloc has come into being.

This leads logically to mention of the second thing the agricultural bloc is not: It is not a champion of class legislation. It has sponsored no bills that are exclusively for the benefit of a par-

ticular class or a particular section. It has discovered instances where legislation has ignored or discriminated against a particular class or section, and has sought to correct this; as, for example, the tariff that gave ample protection to manufacturing production but failed to protect adequately agricultural production, and the Federal Reserve Bank legislation, which provided a banking system for commerce but failed to provide adequate facilities for agriculture and stock-raising. Surely the extension of such legislation so as to embrace the whole country and all industry instead of merely favored sections and industries cannot fairly be termed sectional or class legislation.

A third thing the agricultural bloc is not is a factional or partisan group. There is no purpose to form a new party or a new faction of one of the old parties, or to cause any schism or regrouping of parties. There are Republicans and Democrats both in the so-called agricultural bloc. It happens that there are more Republicans than there are Democrats, but then there are vastly more Republicans than Democrats in Congress. Party politics is eschewed in the conferences held by the bloc.

It is easier to tell what the agricultural bloc is not than to tell what it is, for the very simple reason that, while its purposes are well understood by the members of Congress who participate in its conferences, it is not a definite entity. I mean by that, that the membership is not always the same. Sometimes the group is larger, sometimes smaller. On certain matters of legislation what might be termed the membership gains adherents, on certain other matters it diminishes. In other words, the term agricultural bloc describes a movement rather than a group. To a certain extent the word bloc is a misnomer. It is not an organization in the sense of having formally elected officers and a definite membership, although in the main the men who attend its conferences are the same.

The agricultural bloc really designates a movement occasioned by the profound conviction held by a number of members of both houses of Congress that without agricultural prosperity there can be no general prosperity in the country. When the farming industry languishes, all industry fails to prosper. This observation is so trite that it should require no reiteration, but apparently even so obvious a truism must be asserted over and over again if those who most need to learn the truth are to be enlightened.

It is unfortunate, but apparently the fact, that large numbers of our business men, and particularly in the East, do

not understand that the farmers of the country, besides being the producers of our foodstuffs and the raw materials that enter so largely into other manufactures, are also our greatest single consuming or buying class. As great an authority as Secretary Wallace asserts that the people who gain their livelihood from the soil constitute forty per cent of the buying power of the country. When the farmer is forced to sell his products for less than it cost him to produce them, he of necessity ceases to be so great a factor in the buying market. His buying is restricted to his actual needs, and when his credit becomes exhausted he ceases to be a buying factor at all. J. R. Howard, President of the American Farm Bureau Federation, recently asserted that one-fourth of the farmers of the country are to-day insolvent. Agriculture is sick; it must be restored to a condition of health and vigor if the rest of the country is to prosper.

The men making up the so-called agricultural bloc are not so fatuous as to believe that the remedy for this distressing condition lies wholly in legislation or in Governmental activity, but they do believe that the Government, acting through the President and the Congress, may do much to hasten the return of healthy conditions to agriculture. President Harding shares this belief, as is witnessed by the fact that he has signed every measure enacted by Congress at the instance of the farm bloc and but recently has called the National Agricultural Conference, soon to meet in Washington. The President publicly has indorsed other measures favored by the bloc which have not yet been passed by Congress.

An examination of the measures thus far enacted and proposed by the agricultural bloc discloses no utopian theories, but, on the contrary, reveals only proposals resting on a sound economic base. The extension of the tariff to embrace agricultural products has been mentioned. Surely no one who believes in the protection of American labor and capital employed in manufacturing industry will reject the policy because it is applied to American labor and capital employed in agriculture. Victims of the exactions of the packers' trust during and since the war hardly will complain because the business of that industry has been brought under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture, even if the primary purpose of the legislation is to afford some degree of protection to the farmer in the marketing of his live stock. The revival of the War Finance Corporation for the purpose of providing credit facilities for the sale of surplus

farm products in other countries has been a benefit to commerce quite as much as it has been a benefit to the farmer in extending his market. The advancing of \$25,000,000 to the Farm Loan Banks as a revolving fund immediately available from which to make farm loans and the increasing of the rate of interest to be paid on Farm Loan Bonds, so as to make them more readily salable in the market, are measures made necessary by the disturbed financial condition following the war, which prevented the Farm Loan Bank system from properly functioning. Even yet our banking system lacks facilities adequate to the farmers' needs, and this Congress is expected to enact a law still further extending the banking facilities, so that the farmer may have a form of banking credit properly adapted to his needs. We probably have the finest commercial banking system in the world, with its thirty-day, sixty-day, and ninety-day notes, backed by the rediscount facilities afforded by the Federal Reserve system. This system is perfectly suited to the turnover in commercial business. But the farmer's turnover is mainly once in twelve months, and in the case of the stockmen from one to three years. Our commercial system of credit does not fit their needs, and our country cannot be truly pros-

perous until the farmer has credit facilities as well adapted to his methods of doing business as are the present facilities adapted to those of the merchant, manufacturer, and jobber. This defect in our banking system will be remedied by a measure fathered by members of the so-called agricultural bloc.

There may be some persons who will complain because the gambler in grains and other food products is hit by the Capper-Tincher Act, which went into effect the first of the year, and which brings the great grain exchanges of the country under the supervision of a board composed of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Attorney-General, but I cannot believe that their number is many. This measure had the support of the farmer bloc. The Capper-French Truth-in-Fabrics Bill, which applies to fabrics provisions similar to those applied to food in the Pure Food and Drugs Act, and is designed to require that fabrics shall be sold for what they actually are, is another bloc measure that should benefit the consumer quite as much as the producer of raw materials. The bill to provide that at least one member of the Federal Reserve Board shall be a representative of agriculture is an attempt merely to give recognition in the banking system of the Nation to the

country's greatest single industry; surely not an unreasonable proposal.

These measures fairly indicate the purposes of the so-called agricultural bloc. It is the contention of their champions that they are broadly constructive and not intended merely for the benefit of a single class. The fact is the farmer has fallen rather behind the procession in modern society. He remains the one individualist in a vastly complicated organism. Consequently the banking and marketing machinery of modern society, while well enough adapted for commerce and industry, has not been so well suited to the farmer's requirements. It must be modified in important respects or else new machinery will have to be set up to meet the farmer's needs. His only desire is to be permitted to do business in a fair market and under conditions of equality with his city neighbor. He is asking for no consideration from Government that has not already been given to other industry, and he must receive this consideration if he is to prosper and play his full part in the restoration of prosperity to all industry and to the whole country. The agricultural bloc is committed to such a programme, and is pressing it in the belief that in this direction lies the road to re-established prosperity and better conditions in trade and industry.

THE DEVIL

BY ARTHUR B. RHINOW

URI BEN AHITHOPHEL came down from Jerusalem to see the Prophet. He wondered why he had retired to the solitude when the people were asking for him. He found him sitting on a stone. A group of men were about him, men with hunger in their eyes.

The scenery was one of contrasts. Rugged hills framing fields of flowers; in the distance the Jordan rushing southward. And the Prophet seemed to blend with it all. But Uri Ben Ahithophel saw none of that.

"I have come to see you about your work," he began.

The Prophet looked up.

"I think your work looks very promising. You have made a good start. Now what you need is somebody to manage your campaign. I have had a good deal of experience in affairs like that, and I should like to—"

A snake wriggled through the grass and disappeared in the jumble of rocks.

"Now what you need, first of all," Uri continued after he had recovered, "is to gain the favor of influential people." As I said before, you have begun well. People are talking about you, and you know if you can get people to talk about you you have gained a great deal. They even say you have performed miracles. Now there is no reason why you shouldn't make a big success of your

enterprise. And I say, the first thing to do is to get the backing of influential people.

"Now, there is Annas, the high-priest, for instance. Believe me, he is the most powerful man in Israel. If you could get him to indorse you, that would help immensely. And of course some prominent Pharisee, also. Annas, you know, is a Sadducee, and you cannot afford to take sides. With two such leaders backing you, you could not fail. And I believe my connections would enable me to enlist that support. One only has to know how to approach men like that in the right way; and I have had experience. All I would ask you to do is not to say or do anything to offend them. That would never do. You understand that, of course. All the rest you can leave to me. And all I ask of you for myself is a promise to remember me when you enter into your kingdom, so to speak. That's all.

"And believe me, without such men as Annas your enterprise will never amount to very much. Get the right people interested first."

The Prophet studied the lilies lovingly.

"And after you have had the indorsement of those men," Uri went on, "then you ought to be careful about the disciples you choose. Get men that are representative, men of the better classes, men that impress the people. Then you

will be able to control means, and you know you cannot do anything without money. For instance, I am just now thinking of a certain rich young ruler. Fine fellow, and he has great possessions."

"The prophet has chosen his disciples," one of the men answered. There was a deep glow in his eyes, and he held a bag.

"What kind of men are they?" the interviewer asked quickly.

"Oh, Galilean fishermen, a publican, and other men of that kind."

Uri Ben Ahithophel shook his head.

"Fishermen and publicans? That will never do. Why did he choose them?"

"Because they believe in him."

"Well, that's all right so far as it goes. But this is a practical age, and we must be practical to succeed. Look at the way the Romans do things, and our own politicians. They're shrewd. And even a religious movement must be conducted in the right way. Imagine how Annas would launch a campaign like that. And it is very important to get the right kind of people to push things. You look as though you might be a help to him, but those other men are just muscle and dreams."

Uri Ben Ahithophel again turned to the Prophet. He saw him take a reed and write on the ground.

"There is something else I want to

talk to you about," Uri continued. "I have heard people say that you were of Nazareth. Now I wouldn't advertise that too much. You know the people say, 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' And we must avoid anything that might offend the people. 'Give the people what they want,' is the way to succeed.

"Now, tell me," Uri went on, "is there not some other place with which you are associated by ties of something or other?"

"He was born in Bethlehem," he with the bag volunteered.

Uri Ben Ahithophel leaped up. "In Bethlehem?" he cried. "The very place! The birthplace of a king."

"He is of the seed of David." "He is? Come, come, this is great. We shall begin the big demonstration at Bethlehem. Leave that to me. We shall advertise you as the son of David. That alone will give you popular applause. We shall speak of the glorious reign of David and Solomon, and that

a scion of that illustrious house has come to them to lead them to—"

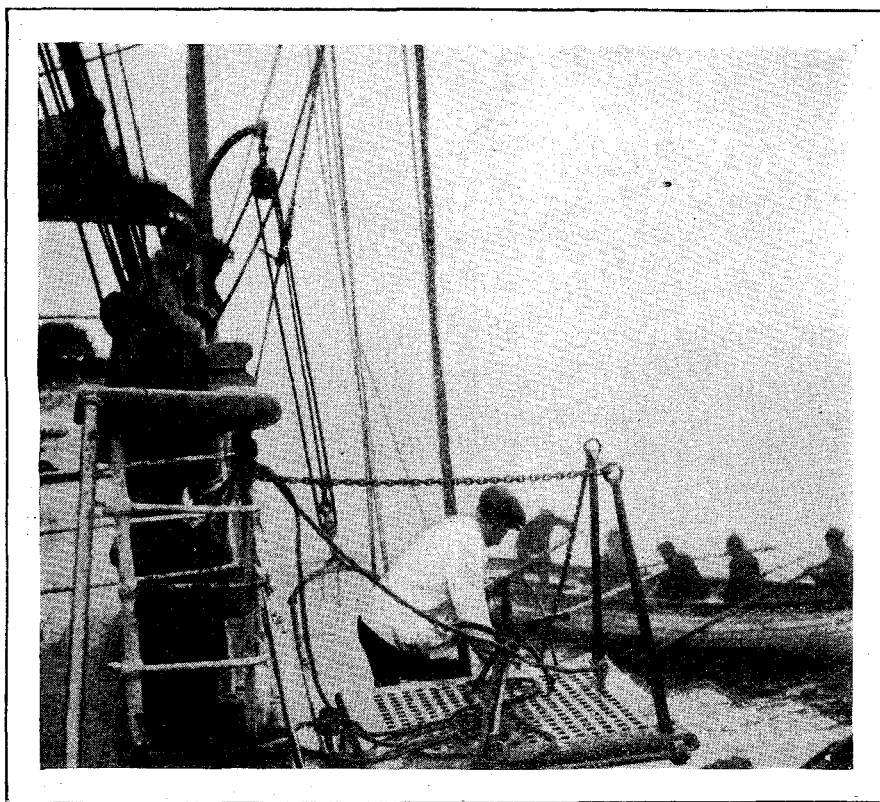
The Prophet's look silenced Uri Ben Ahithophel. He remained quiet for a long time. At first he had an unearthly feeling, then his mind reverted to the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them. He turned to the man with the glowing eyes.

"Your master might win the whole country," he said, "if he listened to reason; but—"

He shook his head sadly, and left.

AN ISLAND HERO

BY FULLERTON L. WALDO



PUTTING OFF TO THE LIGHT IN A FOG

NORTHEAST of the Magdalen Islands, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is an islet upreared to a height of nearly two hundred feet above the mean of the tides. It is called Bird Rock, and it is the finest bird nursery of the North Atlantic region. Its brow is forever beclouded with a flapping and crying myriad of gulls, auks, kittiwakes, murre, gannets, and other water-fowl, and round its base the waves leap like wild creatures in a white and roaring fury that never wears itself out, though it has bitten and torn the living rock away.

A moving-picture operator visited the island, and was dangled over the brink of the cliffs at the end of a rope to secure his pictures. He was warned not to look down as he mounted the rickety ladders, lashed end to end, through the crevices to the top of the rock. The leaping sea at the foot of the ladders and the deafening birds flying about

him, affrighted for their eggs and their eyries, made the ascent as perilous a venture as the taking of the photographs.

Peter Bourcq was lord of this tiny insular domain. Peter had been there for twenty-eight years. His story was this. Before his coming two keepers of the island light had lost their reason, owing to the horrible loneliness. The second had to be taken to the mainland in a strait-jacket. The Canadian Government was greatly concerned to obtain a successor in his place. For a long time no man offered himself. Then Peter Bourcq came forward. "I will accept the place," he said, "if you let me take my wife and son with me." The authorities gladly consented.

When Peter went to the island, he resolved at once to do everything possible to keep the family life on a sane and normal plane, in order to avoid the fate that overtook his predecessors. He had

at first only his wife and a son to consider; later a daughter was born, and a welcome flower she was, abloom among those gaunt and barren crags. The lighthouse steamer came but once a year, bringing letters and newspapers. Peter made a box with a compartment for each day. Then he took this annual mail and divided it among the pigeon-holes; and every morning at breakfast they could pretend they were getting the post for that particular day—though it was a year old!

The evenings in rotation were given to study—the French language, the poetry of Robbie Burns, the lore of the rocks and the birds about them. Each of the four studied music—cabinet organ, violin, cornet, voice; and the birds that fluttered and cried round the faithful light must have heard in bewilderment the rival sounds. As for the light itself—when there was fog (and that might be for weeks and months at a time) it was necessary not only to keep the fog-horn going but to fire gun-cotton bombs at twenty-minute intervals. Father and son relieved each other at this task; and if the boy for any reason failed, the father was awake immediately to know why. He could not sleep unless the noise stabbed the silence on the very instant.

They even made a croquet court, which took up all the space not filled by the lighthouse and the tower; but the storms soon swept away the earth that had been transplanted with such labor from the mainland.

At the end of twenty-eight years Peter took his family ashore. He said he thought he owed them a taste of life among people in the world. Before he could get away he had packed his belongings three times to leave by the annual lighthouse steamer, but twice they had to tell him that he must stay another year, since they could find none to fill his place.

Few men have had so lonely an occupation. Few have been faithful to a trust so hard and so forbidding. Peter Bourcq did his work well, and has earned his reward. He showed again that a brave and resolute man is master of his fate in circumstances that would crush the weakling.

THE BIG AND THE BUSY

BY GEORGE D. CARRINGTON

THE average bleacherite, were he to take a bat in his hand, could not hit a balloon floating over the plate. The average tennis player is more or less awful. The average golfer takes over 100 (and lies about it). The average writer leaves the reader cold and unmoved. The average boxer is a good deal of a mark. The average lawyer is seldom thoroughly prepared.

Averages run low, but it is the solution of the *average* man's problem that really counts for anything. The genius needs no "solution." He'll pull through somehow, by definition of genius. But the average one of us is pretty much of a dub, and needs all the "solutions" he can get. In the following remarks, therefore, the word "average" is understood as applying to all but the men who are named or referred to for illustration.

Take any young fellow starting out, either in business or a profession. Say that he is strong, that he takes good care of himself, that he has plenty of "pep" and a clear brain. One or two, then three, four years go by, but he gets no results to speak of. He has the strength, the energy, the push, and still he cannot build up the business. He knows in his heart that it is not his youth that beats him, that there are as many opportunities as ever, but he is headed for disaster. He may connect up with some established concern or firm, but as an individual he fails.

Now there are so many possible reasons for that failure that to attempt to cover the ground would be silly, but if I were the president of a college (which I am not) or the head of any school or institution, turning out annually hundreds or thousands of graduates equipped, more or less, to stand their ground in the various walks of life, I would at least point out one rock on which many of them go to pieces—a rock so pitifully easy to avoid that I don't recall ever hearing it even mentioned in a baccalaureate or occupying a niche in the advices to graduates at commencements of school, university, or college, and I've heard a lot of them.

To illustrate: Shortly after the armistice was signed I went to a club to lunch. There were some distinguished speakers whose remarks were worth hearing. It was altogether the best function of its kind I'd ever attended, and I looked up the chairman of the committee in charge, and found it was the late John B. Stanchfield, probably the greatest trial lawyer of his day (great, by the way, because he was simply better prepared in every way than most of his adversaries—he took *no* chances). I did not know Mr. Stanchfield, but I wrote him that I liked that

type of speaker and hoped we would have more such. He wrote me the day he received my letter expressing his appreciation, and two days later he came into my office and thanked me personally. He'd never heard of me and he was a "fairly" busy man.

In 1916 Roosevelt was being pounded right and left because he was too belligerent and not anxious enough to keep us out of war. I thought he was right, and said so in a letter of about a paragraph in length. He answered me at once from the office of the "Metropolitan Magazine," in a note so cordial that I was almost embarrassed. He didn't know me from Adam of course, and his mail was not small, I imagine.

At the time when Mr. E. H. Gary first appeared publicly in defense of the open shop in the controversy between the Steel Corporation and certain groups of its employees, without going into the merits of the case, I liked the clean-cut way in which Mr. Gary laid down his company's proposition without any beating about the bush or false pandering to labor (labor hasn't any more use for hypocrisy than the rest of us, and Gary knew it). I received a mighty quick and frankly cordial acknowledgment of *that* note at once.

Now I despise the fools who sit around writing to big men or getting introduced to them, apparently with the idea that they themselves somehow shine by the reflected light of their gods; so don't misunderstand me. In none of these cases—years apart—did I care a continental whether I got an answer to my letter or not. They called for no answer, naturally, and had there been the slightest suspicion from their contents that the writer expected or hoped for one there wouldn't have been any.

If you want to see a man who is a leader, from the President down, you can see him and quickly too—if you have something to say. You can't waste his time, not more than once, but you can see him. It's the little man who doesn't know how to arrange his desk that's always in a "conference" and who never has "time."

I had a client once who got into difficulties with the District Attorney's office. His partner was also involved and had as his personal counsel a little fellow whom we'll call Blankbacher, and as his uncle a gentleman who retained one of the best-known lawyers in New York, an ex-District Attorney, and a very well liked and reputable man, to look over the situation. Blankbacher was much incensed at this, and openly referred to the ex-District Attorney as a "stuffed shirt." A conference followed, and the next morning Blankbacher re-

ceived a letter from the "stuffed shirt" thanking him for his courtesy in coming to *his* office rather than calling the meeting elsewhere, and also expressing appreciation of the concise manner in which the matter had been presented by Blankbacher, to the saving of time for all concerned—in other words, a very thoughtful, though wholly unnecessary, letter.

Shortly afterwards I met Blankbacher. He said: "Dot man, he is a fine fella. Fine fella." All his life he's going to have a warm spot in his heart for that lawyer simply because of a very short, but obviously sincere, letter, which didn't have to be written at all; and he'll send all his clients, and he has a lot of them, who find themselves in anything like that kind of a predicament, to that man's office. Also it was just as much a habit on the part of the writer to despatch such a note—he wanted to, felt like it—as it was to put on his hat when he left his office. Those things take half a minute to do, and, even viewed from a selfish angle, mathematically, a certain percentage of them are bound to, and do, bear fruit.

But the matter is deeper, a good deal, than that. I don't care who you are or what your occupation, you come in contact with people day in and day out—that's practically your whole life. All right. You will be successful in these contacts just so far as you can forget yourself and *be* those people, one after the other, as far as getting their point of view is concerned. If you're dealing with a plumber, be a plumber yourself for the time being, exclude every other thing from your mind but that man's problem, his point of view, his angle—if you want to help him—and the same all along the line. Lay your own affairs aside and put every ounce of energy you have at their disposal, and make them feel it, whether you are a doctor, salesman, lawyer, or what not; and there is only one way to make them feel it—*mean* it. You can't bluff. The dullest customer, the sickest patient, the stupidest client, knows in an instant, and instinctively, whether you have his interests at heart or whether you haven't.

The little things are all-fired important. The "big" man never misses a trick. A kind word, an unnecessary act, has never hurt anybody since the beginning of time, and, sooner or later, they come home to roost. Go out of your way to do things for people, whether you have to or not. Jump in with both feet.

Roosevelt put the secret of his amazing success in a sentence. He said, "I put myself in the way of things happening, and they happened." I should say they did!



Photo by Asahel Curtis, Seattle

AN ALASKAN TOWN, WITH ITS SAWMILL WHICH IS SUPPLIED BY THE NATIONAL FOREST

ALASKA—THE LAST OF THE FRONTIER

BY W. B. GREELEY

CHIEF, UNITED STATES FOREST SERVICE

ALASKA is the last of the American frontier. Alaska is the only place left where "trails run out and stop," where people are killed by bears, where unmapped ranges challenge the explorer. In Alaska we are reliving the absorbing story of the West. We see as on a screen the mushroom mining camp and the bleak homestead, the pioneer and the tin-horn gambler, the single-handed enterprise of the frontiersman living on the present and the moneyed interest intrenching for the future, men who create industries and men who play with forests, mines, or water powers as with poker chips. It is the story of Idaho or California retold. Old clashes reappear. The pioneer is restive, the speculator at odds with bureaucrats.

Alaska is the Nation's last big job in frontier management. She contains one-sixth as much land as all of the States combined, and ninety-eight per cent of it is National property. Alaska is no longer "Seward's Folly" or "Uncle Sam's ice-box." It is probably no exaggeration to appraise her raw re-

sources as equivalent in importance to her area. Because the management of this vast frontier wealth is a National job—and the last of its kind—Alaska is a storm center. Over and above her surge the schemes of politicians, the designs of corporations, constructive proposals, well-based criticisms, biased attacks, and the unreconstructed exploiters of the West who would break Alaska up and parcel her out if they could. Federal mismanagement is held accountable for the slow progress of Alaska, for her decline in population. Incessant reiteration has led many to believe that Alaskan affairs have been muddled by a multiplicity of Federal bureaus, that she has been bound down with red tape, that her industrial growth has been blocked by Conservation theories.

To "free Alaska" it has been urged that all public property and administrative agencies in the Territory be turned over to a local Development Board. Another plan simply regroups certain Federal functions, particularly by transferring the National Forests and water

powers to the Interior Department, on the plea of cutting out conflicts and overlaps in administration. Some of the proposals, like building a National railway from the coast to the interior, like utilizing Federal steamers to give Alaska better marine transportation, are constructive. Some are futile, some are dangerous. The development of Alaska has not been guided wisely in all respects. Certain Federal laws under which she is governed are obsolete or inadequate. Some of them have been enforced too arbitrarily or at too great a distance. But in seeking the progress of our northern frontier there are certain bed-rock facts which every one must heed.

The commercial growth of Alaska is not a matter of laws, bureaus, or regulations. It is a matter of geography and trade. It is controlled by her location on the northwestern tip of the continent; by the cost of moving her products to people who want them; by the value of gold, copper, fish, and paper in the markets of the world; by the cost of labor, machinery, and supplies. Hith-

erto there have been no paper mills in the publicly owned forests of Alaska for precisely the same reason that there have been no sawmills in millions of acres of privately owned forests of Oregon. The mining of low-grade gold ore has slumped in Alaska, just as the mining of silver ore slumped in Colorado and Nevada when the cost of producing the metal exceeded its market price. Millions of fertile areas lie untilled in the Yukon Valley solely because the world's wheat market can be supplied more cheaply from North Dakota or Argentina. The deserted placer camps of Alaska are no whit different from Poker Flat and a hundred other abandoned "diggings" in the Sierras. Wise laws and efficient bureaus can, and must, aid the industrial development of Alaska, but they cannot work magic. Alaska is no more immune to the economies of manufacture and trade than any other part of the United States. She will develop only so fast as the markets of the world can absorb her products.

The impatience of the frontier is unwilling to accept these stern realities. Alaska is still under the spell of the gold strike, the quest for quick wealth under which men made fortunes or went broke. And Alaska has a fine faith in herself. Things are bound to happen; new industries are bound to come. Something must be holding the country back. And that "something" is found in the way Alaska's resources are governed. The Federal bureaus furnish an easy target. Hence the assertion, often repeated and as often accepted at face value, that the bursting wealth of the young country is padlocked by Washington bureaucrats.

The second basic fact which must be recognized by every one who studies the Alaskan situation is that, whatever faults may exist in her administration, the locking up of natural resources is not one of them. "Pinchotism" has been anathema to many Alaskans because the Conservation policies of Roosevelt and Pinchot were not fully understood, and particularly because their fruition was long delayed by inspired opposition. Extensive withdrawals of forests, water powers, coal and oil lands were made prior to 1910. The Alaskan coal fields were opened to development by the Coal Leasing Law of 1914 and her oil deposits by the Oil Leasing Law of 1920. A number of public water powers were utilized under the inadequate laws preceding the Power Act of 1920, which provides a fair basis for developing these resources comparable to that established for the use of coal, oil, and timber.

The twenty million acres of National Forests in Alaska have always been open to local use or export. They have supplied every sawmill on the Alaskan coast with its logs. They have furnished packing-cases and piling to most of the Alaskan salmon canneries and mining timbers to many of her mines. They have provided free building material and fuel for the prospectors, fisher-

men, and settlers of southern Alaska. They have been widely used for fish plants, manufacturing enterprises, settlements, and town sites. They have paid a substantial revenue to the roads and schools of the Territory. They have produced high-grade spruce lumber for the general markets and war needs of the country. Their paper-making resources have been systematically studied and offered for development under terms which insure industrial stability, terms which experienced manufacturers accept. The Federal Water Power Commission is handling more business in Alaskan power sites to-day than in any other section of the United States where the development of forest industries is the commercial motive; and large quantities of National Forest timber have already been secured by paper manufacturers.

Give every bad law and piece of red tape its due weight; the net effect upon the development of Alaska is relatively unimportant. Check off the imposing list of Alaska's resources—metals, fish, timber, coal, petroleum, marble, water power, fur, agricultural land—every one of them is available to men of energy and capital. Every one of them will be developed as rapidly as economic conditions warrant. Let us lay once for all the ghost of the Federal sentry patrolling a dead-line around Alaska's wealth.

The considerable number of Federal agencies in Alaska is often attributed by critics to bureaucratic jealousies and outreachings. What does the presence of thirty-odd administrative and investigative activities in the Territory really signify? Simply the range and vastness of her resources, the number of different things that must be done through public initiative to convert Alaska from a frontier wilderness into a State. With thousands of miles of uncharted coast,

with the greatest sea-food resources of the world, with many million acres of raw plow land in a climatic zone largely untried by American agriculture, with forests and minerals of vast extent, Alaska has need of the best brains and organized skill of the Government in many different specialized branches. Were the bureaus created for technical or administrative work in these various fields not on the job in Alaska, it would be proof of their inertia or incompetence. No one appreciates this fact better than the thinking business men of Alaska.

Nor will anything be gained by shuffling the Federal agencies in Alaska and redealing them between departments. The work must still be done, and each part of it must be done by specialists in that subject. A staff of rangers, supervisors, and lumbermen will be needed to run the National Forests under Department X no less than under Department Z. This is a large-sized job which cannot be done well without an organization of trained and experienced men and a local head responsible for it and nothing else. There is small prospect of betterment in either cost or efficiency through transferring this organization to some other executive in Alaska and cutting it off from the department which is handling identical work everywhere else in the United States. And what is true of Alaska's forests is true of her fisheries, her agricultural lands, her unreserved public domain, her minerals, her migratory birds.

There would be little sense in having one Federal agency manage the 136,000,000 acres of National Forests in the present States and a different and wholly disconnected organization manage the 20,000,000 acres of National Forests in a future State. There is little to commend, either as business or

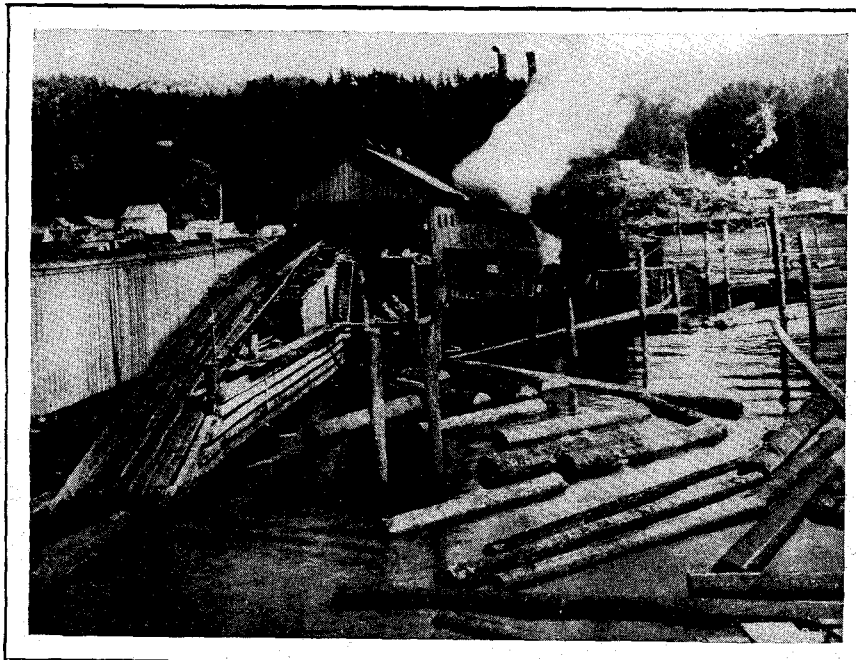


Photo by courtesy of U. S. Forest Service

SAWMILL AT KETCHIKAN, ALASKA, SUPPLIED ENTIRELY BY NATIONAL FOREST TIMBER

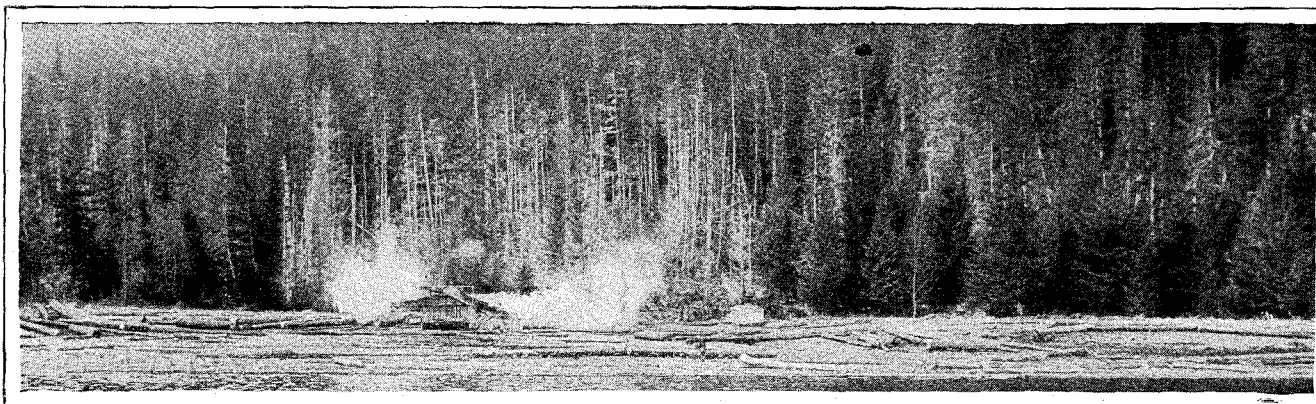


Photo by courtesy of U. S. Forest Service

CUTTING SPRUCE AND HEMLOCK LOGS IN THE TONGASS NATIONAL FOREST, ALASKA

ganization or public policy, in having one organization of Federal experts deal with the fisheries of the Atlantic coast and Puget Sound, while a separate and unrelated staff of the same kind—in another department—deals with the fisheries of Alaska. It is not difficult to see whither such proposals lead us. An immediate result is the very duplication of functions and duties in different executive departments which the Government has specifically undertaken to eliminate. A more serious result is cutting Alaska off from the technical and financial resources of Federal agencies whose expert services the Territory needs. The very frontier character of Alaska makes her need all the greater for the best the country can give in developing each group of resources, and that best can be given only by the Federal departments organized and built up for the maximum service, each in its own field. Yet it is even advocated that the Department of Agriculture, the most effective leader in agricultural science the world over, should surrender its experiment stations in Alaska, leaving the future of her farm lands to a local “development board.”

Let us not forget that Alaska is part of the United States. Alaska is the last of the Territories, and some day will be a State in her own right. Her geographical and economic relations to the rest of the country are scarcely different from those of Oregon or Washington in 1870. The Nation has the same inter-

ests at stake in the agricultural resources of Alaska as in the agricultural resources of the Great Plains, in the forests and water powers of Alaska as in the forests and water powers of the western Cascades. As the migratory birds of the far north cross many States in their yearly travels, so are the products of Alaskan forests, mines, and fisheries distributed over the entire country. The problems of Alaska are simply parts of National problems. Each of them must be treated as a whole. We have developed a National policy as to public water powers, as to public forests, as to public coal and oil deposits. Each of these National policies should be carried out in Alaska by the same National agency as in Wyoming or Oregon, whatever that agency may be, with the same direct relationship, the same fundamental authority, and, above all, with the same public responsibility. The greatest danger underlying most of the proposals for “something different and apart” in Alaska is the danger of a gradual breakdown in the policies which this country has adopted for making its public resources of the widest and most permanent benefit.

What, then, of the overlaps and conflicts in the management of Alaskan affairs, of the duplicating bureaus and harassed settlers? It is a pity that the black and brown bear have at last been placed under the same official guardian, depriving the Alaskan reformer of the most classic example of administrative

absurdity. Much of the red tape which has been criticised in Alaska is in the black and brown bear class—more or less ridiculous and more or less inconsequential. Certain things are serious, like the delay in securing title to public land after all legal requirements have been met or the statutory rule which compels the advertisement of very small lots of National Forest timber before it can be sold. The shifting or consolidation of Federal bureaus would not remedy such conditions in the slightest, and, on the other hand, there is not one of them but could be made right by simple changes in laws that are now obsolete or in the local conduct of public business.

The greatest evil in the management of Alaska is government at long range. Too much authority is kept in Washington. There are too many delays in getting things done. Officers in Alaska are bound by too many cut-and-dried regulations or decisions which may be hoary in departmental usage but are not adapted to the conditions of the far North. The General Land Office, for example, has three separate offices in the Territorial capital—a Register, a Surveyor-General, and a Chief Examiner. They all function independently, each as to its own part in the entry, survey, and patenting of public lands; they all report separately to the Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington; and none of them finally settles anything. A homestead or mining claim



Photo by courtesy of U. S. Forest Service

THE FIRST PAPER PULP MILL BUILT IN ALASKA, AT FORT SNETTISHAM

huttles back and forth between one or another of these local offices and Washington—four or five round trips at least before a patent is secured, although less than a single acre may be involved. These old laws should be changed. A representative of the General Land Office in Alaska might well direct all of its activities, with authority to accept entries, approve surveys, and issue patents. But the Interior Department should retain control of policies and decide appeals.

Pleas for the mere shifting of bureaux in Alaska may easily divert us from real ways of aiding the Territory. The Government cannot speed up the industrial development of Alaska in any great measure. But in three respects its management can be improved. The first is to overcome Alaska's handicap of isolation, not only by Federal aid in the construction of railways and highways, but also by furnishing adequate marine transportation. The second is to work over the laws dealing with Alaska's resources and bring them in line with a common-sense plan of development and use. Such a law is that requiring advertisement of very small lots

of National Forest timber. Another, of greater importance, prohibits homestead entries, conveying surface rights only, on fertile agricultural land which is underlaid with coal. The legislation dealing with Alaskan fisheries needs revision to prevent a serious depletion of this great resource. Betterments of this sort are in progress, and bureaucrats responsible for work in Alaska are taking the lead in bringing them about.

And, finally, the National interests in Alaska should be handled very largely by men in the Territory itself. Decentralization, the doing of things on the ground, is the cure for red tape. Ninety-five per cent of the National Forest business in Alaska, including all ordinary uses of land or timber, is despatched by men on the spot. Only large questions of policy and transactions of special importance are referred to Washington. Every bureau or department should place its functions in Alaska under a resident officer intrusted with the greatest authority possible to act on the ground, but by the same token should it retain control of basic policies and stand responsible for their enforcement

through appropriate instructions and inspection. By this means the evils of long-range administration will be overcome, but without endangering our National policies for the use of public resources and without cutting Alaska off from the effective help of each Federal department in its own field.

The greatest National interests at stake in Alaska are her timber and water power. Sooner or later these resources will support a large paper industry. Trade conditions since the war have brought them into demand and given them commercial value. It is within the power of the people of the United States to create in Alaska a paper industry as enduring as that of Norway or Sweden, an industry which can furnish a million and a half tons of paper yearly for all time to come, or a third of the country's present consumption. For the first time in our history we have an opportunity, in Alaska, to develop the vast forests of a new region as a permanent rather than a disappearing resource, because the Nation owns them. However and by whomever Alaskan affairs are managed, that opportunity must not be lost.

STORIES AND STORY-TELLERS

BY STEPHEN LEACOCK

It is my candid opinion that no man ought to be allowed to tell a funny story or anecdote without a license. We insist rightly enough that every taxi-driver must have a license, and the same principle should apply to anybody who proposes to act as a *raconteur*. Telling a story is a difficult thing—quite as difficult as driving a taxi. And the risks of failure and accident and the unfortunate consequences of such to the public, if not exactly identical, are, at any rate, analogous.

This is a point of view not generally appreciated. A man is apt to think that just because he has heard a good story he is able and entitled to repeat it. He might as well undertake to do a snake dance merely because he has seen Madame Pavlova do one. The point of a story is apt to lie in the telling, or at least to depend upon it in a high degree. Certain stories, it is true, depend so much on the final point, or "nub," as we Americans call it, that they are almost fool-proof. But even these can be made so prolix and tiresome, can be so messed up with irrelevant detail, that the general effect is utter weariness relieved by a kind of shock at the end. Let me illustrate what I mean by a story with a "nub" or point. I will take one of the best known, so as to make no claim to originality—for example, the famous anecdote of the man who wanted to be "put off at Buffalo." Here it is:

A man entered a sleeping-car and said

to the porter, "At what time do we get to Buffalo?" The porter answered, "At half-past three in the morning, sir." "All right," the man said; "now I want to get off at Buffalo, and I want you to see that I get off. I sleep heavily and I'm hard to rouse. But you just make me wake up, don't mind what I say, don't pay attention if I kick about it, just *put me off*, do you see?" "All right, sir," said the porter. The man got into his berth and fell fast asleep. He never woke or moved till it was broad daylight and the train was a hundred miles beyond Buffalo. He called angrily to the porter, "See here, you, didn't I tell you to put me off at Buffalo?" The porter looked at him, aghast. "Well, I declare to goodness, boss!" he exclaimed; "if it wasn't you, who *was that man that I threw off this train at half-past three at Buffalo?*"

Now this story is as nearly fool-proof as can be. And yet it is amazing how badly it can be messed up by a person with a special gift for mangling a story. He does it something after this fashion:

"There was a fellow got on the train one night and he had a berth reserved for Buffalo; at least the way I heard it, it was Buffalo, though I guess, as a matter of fact, you might tell it on any other town just as well—or no, I guess he didn't have his berth reserved, he got on the train and asked the porter for a reservation for Buffalo—or, anyway, that part doesn't matter—say that he had a berth for Buffalo or any other

place, and the porter came through and said, "Do you want an early call?—or no, he *went* to the porter—that was it—and said—"

But stop. The rest of the story becomes a mere painful waiting for the end.

Of course the higher type of funny story is the one that depends for its amusing quality not on the final point, or not solely on it, but on the wording and the narration all through. This is the way in which a story is told by a comedian or a person who is a *raconteur* in the real sense. When Sir Harry Lauder narrates an incident, the telling of it is funny from beginning to end. When some lesser person tries to repeat it afterwards, there is nothing left but the final point. The rest is weariness.

As a consequence most story-tellers are driven to telling stories that depend on the point or "nub" and not on the narration. The story-teller gathers these up till he is equipped with a sort of little repertory of fun by which he hopes to surround himself with social charm. In America especially (by which I mean here the United States and Canada, but not Mexico) we suffer from the story-telling habit. As far as I am able to judge, English society is not pervaded and damaged by the story-telling habit as much as is society in the United States and Canada. On our side of the Atlantic story-telling at dinners and on every other social occasion has become a curse. In every

phase of social and intellectual life one is haunted by the funny anecdote. Any one who has ever attended a Canadian or American banquet will recall the solemn way in which the chairman rises and says: "Gentlemen, it is to me a very great pleasure and a very great honor to preside at this annual dinner. There was an old darky once—" and so forth. When he concludes he says, "I will now call upon the Rev. Dr. Stooze, Head of the Provincial University, to propose the toast 'Our Dominion.'" Dr. Stooze rises amid great applause and with great solemnity begins, "There were once two Irishmen—" and so on to the end. But in London, England, it is apparently not so. Not long ago I had the pleasure of meeting at dinner a member of the Government. I fully anticipated that as a member of the Government he would be expected to tell a funny story about an old darky, just as he would on our side of the water. In fact, I should have supposed that he could hardly get into the Government unless he did tell a funny story of some sort. But all through dinner the Cabinet Minister never said a word about either a Methodist minister, or a commercial traveler, or an old darky, or two Irishmen, or any of the stock characters of the American repertory. On another occasion I dined with a bishop of the Church. I expected that when the soup came he would say, "There was an old darky—" After which I should have had to listen with rapt attention, and, when he had finished, without any pause, rejoin, "There were a couple of Irishmen once—" and so on. But the bishop never said a word of the sort.

I can further, for the sake of my fellow-men in Canada and the United States who may think of going to England, vouchsafe the following facts. If you meet a director of the Bank of England, he does not say: "I am very glad to meet you. Sit down. There was a mule in Arkansas once," etc. How they do their banking without that mule I don't know. But they manage it. I can certify also that if you meet the proprietor of a great newspaper he will not begin by saying, "There was a Scotchman once." In fact, in England, you can mingle freely in general society without being called upon either to produce a funny story or to suffer from one.

I don't mean to deny that the American funny story, in capable hands, is amazingly funny and that it does brighten up human intercourse. But the real trouble lies, not in the fun of the story, but in the painful waiting for the point to come and in the strained and anxious silence that succeeds it. Each person around the dinner table is trying to "think of another." There is a dreadful pause. The hostess puts up a prayer that some one may "think of another." Then at last, to the relief of everybody, some one says: "I heard a story the other day—I don't know whether you've heard it—" And the

grateful cries of "No! no! go ahead," show how great the tension has been.

Nine times out of ten the people have heard the story before; and ten times out of nine he damages it in the telling. But his hearers are grateful to him for having saved them from the appalling mantle of silence and introspection which had fallen upon the table. For the trouble is that when once two or three stories have been told it seems to be a point of honor not to subside into mere conversation. It seems rude, when a story-teller has at last reached the triumphant ending and climax of the mule from Arkansas, it seems impolite, to follow it up by saying, "I see that the ex-Emperor Karl has escaped again." It can't be done. Either the mule or Karl—one can't have both.

The English, I say, have not developed the American custom of the funny story as a form of social intercourse. But I do not mean to say that

they are sinless in this respect. As we see it, they hand round in general conversation something nearly as bad in the form of what one may call the literal anecdote or personal experience. By this I refer to the habit of narrating some silly little event that has actually happened to them or in their sight, which they designate as "screamingly funny," and which was perhaps very funny when it happened but which is not the least funny in the telling. The American funny story is imaginary. It never happened. Somebody presumably, once made it up. It is fiction. Thus there must once have been some great palpitating brain, some glowing imagination, which invented the story of the man who was put off at Buffalo. But the English "screamingly funny" story is not imaginary. It really did happen. It is an actual personal experience. In short, it is not fiction but history.

I think—if one may say it with all respect—that in English society girls and women are especially prone to narrate these personal experiences as contributions to general merriment rather than the men. The English girl has a sort of traditional idea of being amusing; the English man cares less about it. He prefers facts to fancy every time, and as a rule is free from that desire to pose as a humorist which haunts the American mind. So it comes about that most of the "screamingly funny" stories are told in English society by the women. Thus the counterpart of "put me off at Buffalo" done into English would be something like this: "We were so amused the other night in the sleeping-car going to Buffalo. There was the most amusing old Negro making the beds, a perfect scream, you know, and he kept *insisting* that if we wanted to get up at Buffalo we must all go to bed at nine o'clock. He positively wouldn't let us sit up—I mean to say it was killing the way he wanted to put us to bed. We all roared!"

Please note that *roar* at the end of the English personal anecdote. It is the sign that indicates that the story is over. When you are assured by the narrators that all the persons present "roared" or "simply roared," then you can be quite sure that the humorous incident is closed and that laughter is in place.

Now, as a matter of fact, the scene with the darky porter may have been, when it really happened, most amusing. But not a trace of it gets over in the story. There is nothing but the bare assertion that it was "screamingly funny" or "simply killing." But the English are such an honest people that when they say this sort of thing they believe one another and they laugh.

But, after all, why should people insist on telling funny stories at all? Why not be content to buy the works of some really first-class humorist and read them aloud in proper humility of mind without trying to emulate them? Either that or talk theology.



A GREAT LOVE

BY

DOROTHY CANFIELD

"A Great Love" will be published in *The Outlook* next week.

This is the second of the *Byways of Human Nature* series of character stories by the author of "The Brimming Cup."

"Old Man Warner" appeared in *The Outlook* of January 11. It has been read with keen appreciation. One reader praises it as an acute, searching, yet humorous delineation of New England character that has few equals.

Three other stories in this series will follow "A Great Love."

THE KOREAN ANNEXATION: A JAPANESE VIEW

BY I. YAMAGATA

EDITOR OF THE SEOUL PRESS

KOREA before annexation by Japan was the bone of contention between the three neighboring great Powers of China, Russia, and Japan, and constituted the storm center of the Far East. As has many times been observed, this peninsula, protruding itself far into the Sea of Japan from the Asiatic Continent, is like a dagger pointed at the heart of Japan. For the safeguarding of herself, Japan could scarcely look calmly on and see Korea falling into the hands of either China or Russia, both of which, it should be remembered, were very strong Powers. That is the reason why Japan, staking all on the throw, was obliged to fight China in 1894-5 and Russia ten years later, and why she put forth strenuous efforts to enable Korea to stand on her own feet and become strong enough to protect herself against all foreign encroachment.

JAPAN'S FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO HELP KOREA

Japan did everything she could to help Korea by lending her service of some of her best sons and large amounts of money. Korea, however, was too degenerate and her whole government machinery too disorganized for her to derive much benefit from Japan's good offices. There were continual and violent changes in the Korean Government, corruption and intrigue were the order of the day in the Court, disturbances prevailed throughout the peninsula, brigandage was rife in the interior, and epidemics yearly carried off thousands of people; the state treasury was always empty, bankruptcy constantly stared the Korean Government in the face. Making Korea her protectorate, Japan attempted to reform her Government, adjust her finances, reorganize her army, and introduce other features of civilization into the country. These efforts seemed to be attended by more or less success, but, after all, proved but patch-work and too ineffective to hold together the rotten system. In the end the Governments of Japan and Korea both found no other way than the union of the two countries for the safeguarding of the interests of the two peoples, and by mutual agreement the annexation was carried out. This memorable step was taken amid profound peace and was recognized by all the Powers in August, 1910.

EVENTS LEADING TO ANNEXATION

To recapitulate a little more fully, to all practical intent and purpose, Korea was never independent except the ten years after the Sino-Japanese War, by gaining which Japan enabled Korea to cast off the suzerainty China had exercised over her for many centuries.

Korea should have seized the opportunity thus presented to make herself strong and really independent with the help Japan was only too willing to give her. She did not. On the contrary, her politicians engaged in perpetual intrigues and frequent were the changes in the Government, and these were invariably attended with the assassination of those in power and the execution of those out of it. Matters went from bad to worse, until the Korean Court and Government were completely dominated by Russian influence, in consequence of which the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904. As a result of the Japanese victory in this war, Korea was made a protectorate of Japan, and, as already mentioned, Japan attempted to introduce many reforms in the administration of the country. All her efforts, however, were frustrated or impeded by those in the Korean Court and Government, to whom any change for the better in the old order of things was unwelcome. In October, 1909, Prince Ito, who as first Resident-General in Korea rendered imperishable services in the promotion of the welfare of the Korean masses, was assassinated at Harbin by a Korean malcontent when on his way to Europe, and a few months later Mr. Yi Wanyong, the Premier of Korea, was attacked and seriously injured in one of the streets of Seoul by another Korean fanatic. These events made it plain, as nothing else did, that the Japanese protectorate régime would not work well. A great political party called the Ilchin Hoi, comprising among its million members the most intelligent and progressive men of Korea, memorialized the Korean Government, advocating the union of Japan and Korea. In Japan, too, similar opinion steadily gained ground and eventually the annexation of Korea by Japan was carried out in August, 1910. All this is a matter of history and is recognized by the world; so much so that even such a severe critic of Japanese doings in Korea as Mr. F. A. McKenzie says: "There was much to excuse the policy of Japanese statesmen who took action to prevent a continental land so close to themselves from being a mere stepping-off ground for their foes."

WHAT THE KOREAN GOVERNMENT WAS LIKE

The Korean Court and Government were one and the same, there being no distinction between the two. The King was an autocrat and his will was the law. He had his own agents for collecting taxes besides those imposed by the Government, so that the masses never knew how much and when they would be required to pay in taxes. All the

high officials of the Government were exclusively appointed from among men belonging to the *Yangban*, or noble class, and no commoner, however capable, could aspire to a high official position; not only that, natives of the north-western provinces were denied the privilege of becoming officials. Bribery and squeezing were rampant and openly practiced, and official positions and Court honors were sold. A provincial governor, or even a district magistrate, held the life of the people under his jurisdiction in the hollow of his hand, so that the surest and quickest way for one of the *Yangban* class to become rich was to obtain an appointment in the country. As Mr. Charles H. Sherrill pertinently says in a chapter on Korea in his very interesting book, "Have We a Far Eastern Policy?" Korea was "a land of but two classes: the robbers and the robbed."

NEW LIFE INTRODUCED INTO KOREA

All this, however, is now a thing of the past. Korea is now administered by law, and the executive and the judiciary are independent of each other. Government officials are appointed from among all classes of people without regard to anything but talent and integrity, and all positions are open to both Japanese and Koreans without discrimination, they being given equal treatment in all respects. Five provincial governors, one administrative inspector, nearly all district magistrates, and many judges are well-educated Koreans. No taxes other than those sanctioned by the law are levied, and these so far as affecting the Koreans are very light compared with those borne by Japanese. To be particular, the amount yearly paid by the Koreans is only 11.03 yen (less than \$6.50) per household, or 2.08 yen (\$1) per capita; while Japanese living in Korea, numbering about 300,000, pay 43.75 yen (nearly \$22) per household, or 11.12 yen (about \$6.50) per capita. There is no fear whatever of the Korean masses being despoiled of their hard-earned money by corrupt officials, as in former days, nor are they in danger of losing their heads simply because they fail to please the tyrant lording it over them. The Korean people were once notorious for being extremely lazy. No wonder they were disinclined to work much, seeing that, did they accumulate wealth by hard work, they courted for themselves the danger of being visited either by official squeezers or by brigands. If they possessed gold or silver, they buried it in the ground. They now realize that no such danger as that mentioned above still exists, so they are



A KOREAN GENTLEMAN TRAVELING IN THE INTERIOR

shaking off their century-old habit of indolence. This, coupled with the remarkable industrial development achieved in recent years under the guidance and encouragement of the new Government, has made the Korean masses very much better off than they ever were. They have their own banks, where they keep their savings. Two leading Korean banks in Seoul had between them deposits amounting to 11,274,000 yen, or \$5,614,800, at the end of September, 1920.

ALL PEOPLE BENEFITED BY REFORMS

Since 1910, when Korea was incorporated into Japan, the Government has been energetically introducing and carrying on sweeping reforms along all lines, and the progress attained by the country and the people is by no means insignificant. To begin with, the position of the royal family of Korea has been made safe and freed from all the intrigues formerly surrounding it. The members of the family are accorded treatment due to those of the Imperial family of Japan, and a civil list amounting to 1,800,000 yen, or \$900,000, is annually appropriated for their expenses from the national treasury. As for the people in general, since agriculture is the mainstay of eighty per cent of them, great efforts have been put forth for the encouragement and development of the industry, large amounts of money being expended in doing so. Model farms,

experimental stations, schools, and training stations have been set up in many places, improved seeds and tools have been distributed among the farmers, and irrigation and reclamation works have been undertaken throughout the peninsula. Thanks to all this, the amount of agricultural products has been increasing by leaps and bounds. For instance, the rice crop, which amounted in 1910 to 8,142,852 *koku*, increased to 15,294,109 *koku* in 1918 and 12,708,208 *koku* in 1919. It is a remarkable fact that the rice crop of the latter year was so large, considering the great damage wrought to the growing plant by a severe drought (the severest in the last half-century) that visited the north-western and middle parts of Korea, and that even during this lean year 2,882,583 *koku* of rice, worth 110,066,878 yen, and 1,288,733 *koku* of beans, worth 20,720,342 yen, were exported. Afforestation has been carried out on mountains denuded by improvident natives, so that the physical features of the country are rapidly changing for the better. Forests are protected and millions of young trees are planted year after year. Last year 156,860,000 trees were planted, an increase of 560 per cent as compared with 2,820,000 planted in 1919.

IMPROVEMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

Formerly Korea had practically no highway permitting traffic by wheel ex-

cepting one from Wiju, on the Manchurian frontier to Seoul, which was maintained chiefly for the passage of envoys coming annually from the Chinese Emperor to the Korean King, who acknowledged allegiance to Peking. In consequence traffic was maintained on foot and goods transported by means of beasts of burden or on the backs of men. Since Japan undertook the administration of Korea the Government has put forth great efforts in the construction of highways. Up to the end of 1919 a network of 3,400 *ri*, or 8,500 miles, of good highways has been built at the cost of 1,500,000 yen, or \$750,000, so that traveling by automobile is now possible even to the remotest corners of the country. As for railways, in 1910 there existed 674.6 miles of standard gauge and 25.4 miles of narrow gauge. These had increased to 1,153.2 miles and 212.6 miles, respectively, by the end of 1919. Post, telegraph, and telephone services have been equally advanced, the business dealt with by the post offices having increased 300 per cent during the past ten years, while principal ports have had their harbors improved during the past decade at the cost of 23,398,390 yen.

EXPANSION OF FOREIGN TRADE

It is but natural that, along with the development of agricultural and other productive industries, as well as with that of the means of communication as briefly described above, there has been a steady expansion in the foreign trade of Korea. To be particular, the total amount of foreign trade done in Korea, which was only 22,161,000 yen in 1902 and 59,696,000 yen in 1910, rose to 316,327,000 yen in 1918 and 505,024,000 yen in 1919. It may be mentioned, by the way, that the total value of trade done with the United States of America was 10,341,000 yen in 1918 and 24,201,000 yen in 1919. As for banks, in 1919 there were 26 of them with 120 branches and an aggregate capital of 144,950,000 yen, besides 398 small farmers' banks having 5,082,900 yen between them as capital. The total number of companies doing business in Korea in 1919 was 366, with an aggregate nominal capital of 200,500,100 yen, of which 107,761,577 yen was paid up. In addition, there were 59 Japanese and 10 foreign companies having branches and doing business in Korea, the latter including two big mining companies working the famous Unsan and Suan gold mines with American and British capital.

SPREAD OF MODERN EDUCATION

In Korea as late as less than two decades ago Confucianism was taught only in part to the people and there existed no modern schools worthy of the name except a few excellent ones established by foreign missionaries in big cities. Accordingly, on the Japanese Government undertaking the administration of Korea, it at once set about the establishment of various schools and

the spread of modern education. In those days, however, the Korean people at large scarcely felt the need of education and the authorities encountered much difficulty in enrolling pupils for the new schools established in their interest. It is only in recent times that the people have begun to feel the necessity of education for their children and the number of children going to school shown any tendency toward increase. Correspondingly, the number of schools established, both Government and private, has been on the increase year after year, until at the end of May, 1920, the number of schools for Koreans, Government and private, and that of pupils attending them showed as follows:

Kind of Schools	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils
Common schools	594	108,051
Higher common schools		
for boys	14	3,513
for girls	7	771
Industrial schools.....	25	2,137
Elementary industrial schools	55	1,077
Colleges	6	604
Various other schools..	702	37,911
Total.....	1,403	154,064

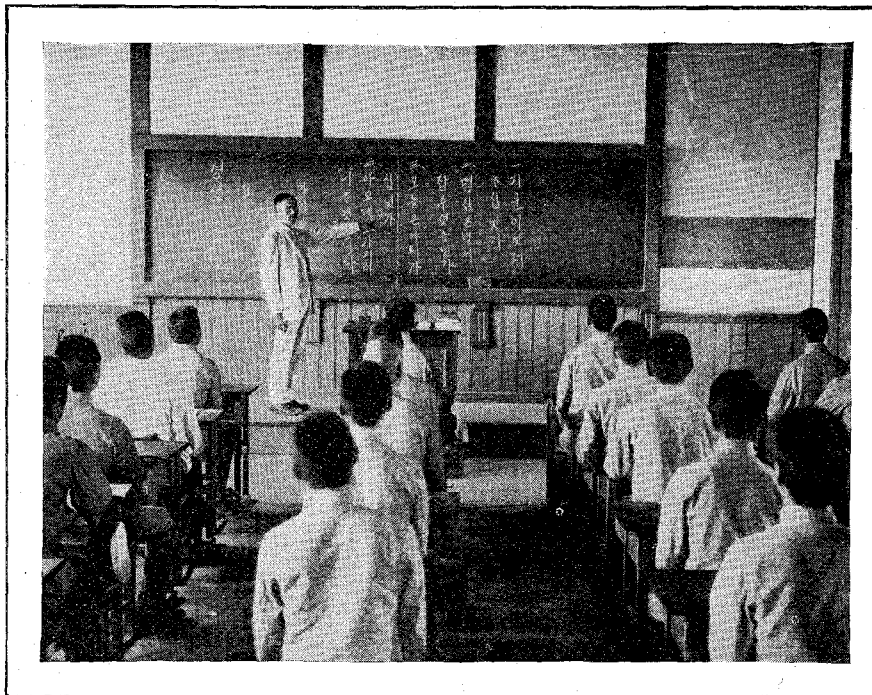
It is the intention of the Government to establish many more schools in the course of a few years to come. Among others, a university and an academy of music and art will be founded.

IMPROVEMENTS IN HEALTH CONDITIONS

In former times Korea was a breeding-place for epidemics. Tens of thousands were yearly carried off by cholera, smallpox, and other infectious diseases, but the Korean people, steeped in ignorance and superstition and knowing nothing of modern medicine, did practically nothing to combat and suppress the epidemics. This was another cause of constant menace to Japan, and so no sooner had Japan taken a hand in the administration of the peninsular Kingdom than she started the general cleaning up of the country. Among other measures taken, the Government has so far established twenty-one hospitals in the principal cities and has appointed 215 doctors to local centers in the interior. Vaccination against smallpox is enforced on children in spring and autumn throughout the country, and itinerant doctors are despatched from time to time to out-of-the-way places. Treatment and medicine are mostly given free. The Government is also training many Korean young men and women as doctors and nurses.

UPHEAVAL OF THE SPRING OF 1919

The above is a brief statement of some of the more important of the reforms introduced into, and of the progress achieved by, Korea since Japan annexed the country in 1910. From this all fair-minded men will concede that Japan has done fairly well in her task of rejuvenating Korea and uplifting the Korean people. Why, then, it will be naturally asked, did the upheaval of



KOREAN LANGUAGE CLASS IN THE NORMAL SCHOOL, SEOUL

the spring of 1919 take place? Was it not the expression of popular discontent against the Government? To answer this question it is best to quote what an impartial foreign observer, who lived long in Korea and was on the spot at the time of the disturbances, has said on their causes. Writing in the "Japan Advertiser" in the spring of 1920, this foreign critic, the Rev. Dr. Frank Heron Smith, an American missionary stationed in Seoul for the preceding six years, said:

In all articles on the Korean uprising that the writer has seen it has been taken for granted that the causes lay in the defects of the Japanese administration, and among these flaws the chief ones pointed out had to do with the gendarme system and the system of education.

It is your correspondent's opinion that the defects in administration constituted only one of the minor causes of the demonstrations and at least provided a favorable setting for them, but that the chief causes must be sought for elsewhere.

The first and greatest cause of the uprising was the love that the Koreans have for liberty, independence, and their own country, and this is the reason they are not satisfied with reforms. They say, "We do not want reforms; we want our freedom." They would not be satisfied with the administration of angels from heaven unless they were Korean angels, and probably not then.

They have hated and despised Japan for one thousand years and would express dissatisfaction no matter what she did. The foreign-educated Koreans and many others of the most enlightened, as well as those who have large business interests or are in Government employ, in all a very large number, took no part in the demonstrations, but most of them are in sympathy with the demonstrators in this point.

The direct cause of the uprising was the activities of those outside Korea who know little or nothing of present-day conditions. President Wilson, rather than the missionaries, must carry heavy responsibility as one of the inciters of this movement. His enunciation of the doctrine of self-determination for small nations aroused the hopes of the self-exiled Korean agitators who have never been reconciled to Japanese occupation. They were led to believe that he would help them at Paris, if they could show that they had grievances. Among the outside influences too must be counted the spirit of unrest that was sweeping the world and which in many ways is still affecting Korea.

Withal it is safe to say that without the instigation from outside, from America, Hawaii, Shanghai, and Vladivostok, no demonstrations would have occurred, and it is true to the facts that it took three months at least to spread the movement throughout the country. On March 1 demonstrations took place at only a score or more of the chief centers.

ALLEGED PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

The Japanese have something more to say concerning the causes of the uprising than that said in the above quotation, but it seems sufficient to serve the purpose of proving the groundlessness of many severe charges critics of Japan have preferred against her with regard to her doings in Korea. One point, however, which cannot be overlooked is the allegation which still seems to survive, that the Government carried out a systematic persecution of Korean Christian churches and Korean converts. Not many words are needed to prove the baselessness of this accusation. The truth is that Korean converts who were arrested and imprisoned in connection with the disturbances

were so dealt with, not because of their faith, but because of their participation in the rioting. As a matter of fact, practically no Korean followers of the Roman Catholic Mission, the English Church Mission, the Congregational Church, the Salvation Army, and some other denominations were arrested or imprisoned, for the simple reason that they stood entirely aloof from politics and took no part whatever in the disturbances. It will be seen that the story that the Government had persecuted Christian converts is absolutely groundless.

INAUGURATION OF A LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION

It must be admitted that, in spite of much excellent work done and many improvements effected by the Government-General under General Terauchi and his successor, General Hasegawa, during the eight years following annexation, it was not wholly free from blunders and failed to keep pace with the progress of the times. To remedy all the past blunders and defects the Government of Japan reorganized the Government-General of Korea in August, 1919, and appointed Baron Saito as Governor-General. Many reforms on liberal lines have since been introduced into the administration of the country. To mention some of the more important, the police system was entirely remodeled, the whole police force formerly organized by the military being replaced by civil officials; discrimination formerly existing between Japanese and Korean officials as regards treatment and salaries was entirely done away



A KOREAN PEASANT WOMAN

with; restriction on the press was largely removed, with the result that the publication of three new Korean dailies has been started in Seoul; the old form of punishment by flogging for minor offenders, a relic from the old Korean Government, was abolished; and a general amnesty was proclaimed for political prisoners. Provincial, municipal, and village councils were newly instituted as a means for preparing the Korean people for local self-government,

and an extensive reform was introduced into the educational system, by which, among other things, all private schools, other than those for which the curriculum is fixed by law, have been given the liberty of teaching religion.

WHAT IS THE PRESENT SITUATION?

During 1920 the situation in Korea was still rather unsettled, signs of popular unrest appearing from time to time in various places. They have now all but completely disappeared. In the course of an article on the situation published in the "Korea Mission Field" for March, 1920, Bishop Herbert Welch, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, in Korea, said: "In a word, a number of the grievances which the world has recognized as heavy have been dealt with, and, while nothing striking or spectacular has been done, a beginning has been made towards the practical recognition of fundamental human rights and the preparation of the people for self-government. The greatest hope, however, which the situation holds is in the genial, democratic, and sincere character of the Governor-General, Baron Saito. With the authority committed to his hands in the scheme of the Japanese Empire and with the backing which he seems to have from the present Cabinet and others strong in political influence, his presence warrants, not merely an attitude of watchful waiting, but an attitude of hopeful expectation." This sanguine view has proved correct, for since this was written the situation in Korea has been gradually settling down and now it is entirely peaceful.

KILLING THE CLASSICS

BY HUBERT V. CORYELL

"**V**IRGIL'S *Æneid*! I'll read it for a price—in translation. The *Iliad*? The *Odyssey*? On the same conditions, if the price is high enough. Shakespeare? Milton? Chau—stop! Do you want me to sell my soul? I loathe them, one and all!"

He was an intelligent-looking young fellow, about thirty years old. The expression on his face, however, only intensified his avowed attitude toward the acknowledged masters and masterpieces of literature. His questioner, a ruddy-cheeked man of sixty, still able to hold his own with youngsters on the ice, in the saddle, or swinging an ax, gazed at him in blank, hurt amazement. For the older man, boy that he was still, was a real scholar, a man who loved and appreciated all that was richest and deepest in the world of books; and it positively cut him to the heart to hear this frank, emphatic explosion on the part of his young friend.

They talked for nearly half an hour on the subject, while I listened. And

listening, I found myself absorbing in almost equal parts the scholar's attitude of poignant regret and the young fellow's feeling of exasperation at the former's assumption that in the classics alone could be found the worth-while things of literature. Why, oh, why, I thought, have our educators so fixed things that out of every ten persons who might enjoy the classics nine come to have an unalterable aversion to them before they are really capable of appreciating them? Why do the scholars that plan our literature courses attempt to plant the superdelicate seed of love for the classics in the hearts of our youth before the frost of savagery is out of the virgin and unplowed soil of their minds?

A farmer knows better than to sprinkle wheat in a newly cleared piece of woodland. Of course he knows that in a few isolated spots, where the soil has been thrown up by accident, there will come a luxuriant growth of wheat. But he knows still better that the bulk of

his seed will be wasted. So he waits until the ground has been sweetened by exposure to air and the growth of chance vegetation, until the stumps have for the most part rotted out and the rocks have been cleared away. Even then he plants a preparatory crop, like potatoes, first to help get the soil into condition for the wheat. And when he does plant, he prepares every foot of ground with plow and harrow and manure and fertilizer before he ventures to sow the seed. He holds up the final act, moreover, until the conditions of temperature, moisture, and so forth, are just right.

Wise farmer!

Foolish scholars!

If our educators would only study the process of preparing fresh young minds for the reception of the seed of classical appreciation, we should have such a different attitude on the part of our young people to-day. The mind of a human child is literally virgin soil. We can make of it almost anything we wish if

we will only have patience and develop it through its long gamut of changes. But it is far more sensitive than earth clods, which simply refuse to produce properly until properly treated. It reacts against the persistent planting of seed for which it is not ready, just as the body of a human being reacts against the repeated onslaught of unwholesome things in its physical environment. It develops a spiritual immunity far more virile and active than the immunity of the body to the ever-present germs of disease. The immunity of the young mind against the classics developed through contact with them before the soul is ready for them is like the immunity of the armored tank as compared with the immunity of the porcupine. The porcupine causes pain to those who touch it. The tank shoots down the enemies before they can approach within hailing distance. In a like manner the youthful mind, accustomed to having the classics thrust down its throat by blind enthusiasts at every stage of school life, acquires the instinct of self-protection and learns to shoot down at sight everything that smacks of the classics to the slightest degree.

The youthful mind, by sad experiences in defending itself from foreign invasion, learns to shun all things foreign, which means all things that scholars love the best and most want the youth of this land to love.

A modern general—to use the figure already introduced—never sends his men to storm a fortress until he has prepared the ground by a long, painstaking barrage. The doting scholar of to-day, on the other hand, sends his poor loved classical masterpieces to storm the redoubt of the mind of youth without previous preparation by barrage fire of piercing quality. And as a result his cherished masterpieces are hurled back, riddled with machine-gun bullets. After that neither scholar nor classics can get within a mile of the human soul of the youth behind the ramparts. Instead of being loved by youth, the great old masters and masterpieces are hated and loathed.

What, then, is the barrage that must be used in capturing the heart of youth? What caliber guns shall we use? With what explosives shall we fill our shells? The writer only wishes he could answer with perfect definiteness. But he can't, and nobody can—exactly—because each young heart has its own type of barrier to be broken down. The best that can be done is to suggest a few possible lines of action.

Certainly, if a person is ever to love the classics, he must first learn to love to read something—good books if possible, but certainly something—if it be no better than wild Indian stories, wild pirate stories, or the exploits of Jesse James. By hook or by crook the young mind must be captured by the delights of the printed page; and until these delights have gripped the young mind

firmly it is worse than folly to attempt any further steps in the development of true literary appreciation.

Suppose now that we have initiated the young mind into the joys of reading, what is the next step? Surely it is to gain the confidence of the youthful mind by frank sympathy with its crude tastes. Let us admit the thrills of Jesse James, Nick Carter, or Captain Kidd. Let us admit that these books of lightening action hold our breathless attention. Let us get into rapport with the youthful mind.

Then let us casually introduce to the youthful mind something a little more worth while—something still full of good, vigorous action, but something with vivid pictures too of interesting things—pictures of strange places, strange people, strange times; places, peoples, times, however, that have their part in the sum total of human experience. Suppose we talk about books with our young friends, and in our talks quite naturally dwell on those tales which have rich and worth-while backgrounds.

The next step is easier. We shall not find it difficult to lure our young book chums on to the trial of books that deal also with the growth and development of human character. It will not be hard to get a boy to read eagerly the story of "Swiss Family Robinson" or to get a girl to read "Little Women." Or, if these two do not appeal, something else can be found that will. Boys and girls are not slow to discover the joy of reading books that they can go back to and visit with as one goes back to visit with an old friend. They may go on reading the trashy time-killers—let them; it will furnish a basis for comparison—but they will come back to the more solid things, and they will begin to read them more and more constantly and with greater and greater understanding.

Before we know it our boys and girls will be eating their way out of juvenile literature, and will be wanting to read what grown-ups read. This is the time not to offer them Shakespeare, or Milton, or the semi-classical Bulwer and Thackeray and others of like ilk. It is the time for "Lorna Doone" or perhaps some of the best of our moderns. This does not mean that our classics must be denied to the youthful prospectors. It means that they must not be offered as the literary *food of foods*. It means that, frankly showing our own fondness for them, we must equally frankly admit that perhaps they are still "a little beyond" our boys and girls, that perhaps they contain ideas which the young people "could not fully understand." If the young people insist, let us feed out grudgingly those that have the most continuous action, the least long-winded description, the least elaborate wordings, phrasings, and allusions, and the simplest presentation of human character in human relationships. "Pride and Prejudice" is easier for the young mind to grapple with than is

"Vanity Fair." Scott is simpler than Shakespeare. Let us be chary about unlocking the treasure house of our literary masterpieces, lest we glut the appetites of our young adventurers with too rich food or cheapen the treasure in their eyes.

Above all, let us *stop teaching* the classics as if we were professors of anatomy dissecting the human body. Students of anatomy may be stimulated to further research by the marvelous demonstrations of the dissector's art, the use of the microscope, and all that goes with the process. But books were meant to be read as wholes, loved as wholes, and lived with as wholes. They were not meant to be chopped up into small lesson sections and studied by the aid of a classical dictionary, and students of literature will not be stirred deeply by any such procedure. Even the enthusiastic professor of English does not actually cut his beloved masterpieces into microscopic segments when reading for his own joy. It is only when he is presenting them to an immature class, trained by long years of classic imposition into a spirit of numbness—only then, faced by a feeling that he must prove the beauties of his masterpieces—only then, that the real scholar smashes up his beloved art treasures to furnish a few worthless fragments for the unwilling inspection of his suspicious, antagonistic students. It is only when worked up to an insane frenzy by his own helplessness against the overwhelming odds of inbred distaste that the real scholar offers up the classics at the altar of the college entrance requirements and cuts the literary gems of the ages into miserable, ugly bits of grit and sand. This is the crime of crimes, viewed by the true lover of the classics.

Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra!

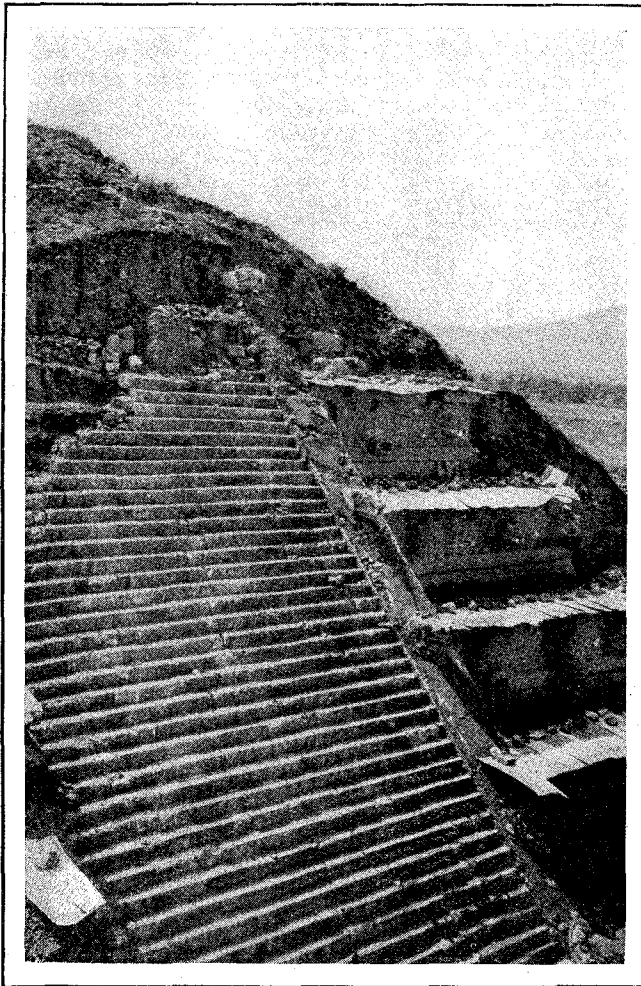
How much longer must we stand for these human sacrifices!

Love for the classics, at least for those classics that truly merit our love, will come to those of us who are capable of the most elevated of literary attachments all in good time if we be led naturally, step by step, along the way. It will never come to most of us if we are picked up and hurled bodily into a purely classical environment at an immature age. It will never come if the high priests of classicism persist in offering up their fairest children for dissection by the knife and for microscopic examination. The boy who is forced to read "The Last Days of Pompeii" at ten will never read Bulwer after he is twenty-one. The girl who analyzes "Julius Caesar" scene by scene at sixteen will avoid Shakespeare and all his works at twenty. If a thing is worth loving, we come to love it of our own free will, in our own good time, provided we are let alone. If it is forced upon us, we hate it.

Lovers of the classics, stop *killing* the classics!

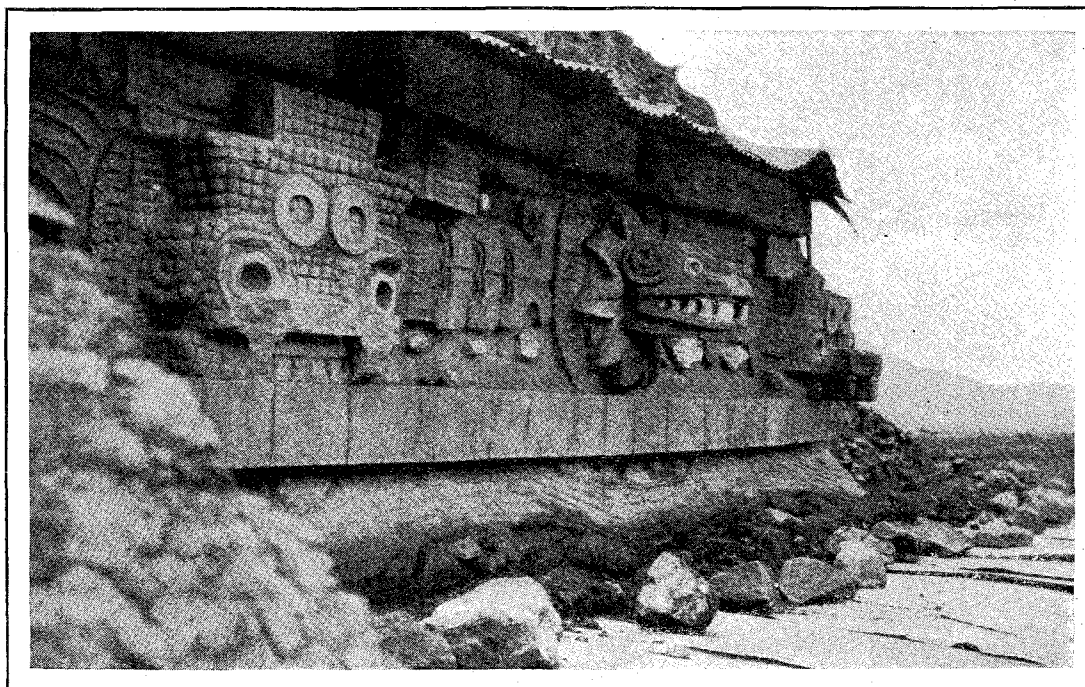
AMERICAN PYRAMIDS DISCLOSED

PICTURES FROM AN OUTLOOK READER



ONE OF THE TEMPLE
PYRAMIDS PARTLY
EXCAVATED. ON THE
FACE OF THIS PYRAMID
ARE THE HUGE AZTEC
IMAGES SHOWN IN
DETAIL IN THE
PICTURE BELOW

Excavations made recently at Teotihuacan, Mexico, have revealed the ruins of Aztec temples. "These temples," our contributor says, "are of considerable interest to archaeologists on account of their resemblance to the Egyptian pyramids. The serpent heads and other symbols are characteristically Aztec"



IMAGES ON THE FACE OF THE PYRAMID SHOWN ABOVE. THE FIGURES
ARE CARVED FROM VOLCANIC ROCK AND REPRESENT MYTHOLOGICAL
CHARACTERS

From L. H. MacDaniels, Ithaca, N. Y.

THE BOOK TABLE

THE FRIENDLY ARCTIC¹

WHEN one reads of the five years of lonely travel, hardship, and illness encountered by Stefansson in the expedition here recorded one feels inclined to question the aptness of his alluring title, "The Friendly Arctic." Yet he reasons convincingly for what he really means by that phrase—that the old ideas about the polar regions were founded on false conclusions; that the way to live with the Eskimos is to live as the Eskimos do; that, in matter of fact, as he says, the Eskimos "secure their living with little labor as compared with the rest of us;" that they are happy and healthful; and that in reality they occupy a country desirable in many ways.

We used to hear from every adventurer into the "silent north" that it was lonely, barren, dismal, cold, desolate, and cruel. But Stefansson writes with enthusiasm of the hundreds of species of Arctic flowering plants, of the extraordinary abundance of forms of life in the sea, and of the tens of thousands of caribou in the Arctic grass lands. He admits that to the white man the life of the Eskimo would be wretched, but declares that "an Eskimo laughs as much in a month as the average white man does in a year," and that he has leisure for dancing, story-telling, and many primitive forms of enjoyment. Experienced Arctic explorers and travelers, such as Peary and Stefansson, find that they become accustomed readily to the long night of the Arctic, to the lack of many things that they had considered essential, and they come to know that much of the feeling about the Arctic regions is because people have come to believe in "a north that never was," to quote the title of a chapter on this general subject.

Sir Robert Borden, who was Prime Minister of Canada when the Stefansson expedition was first planned, sums up in his admirable Introduction to this volume what Stefansson really means:

There seems to be much truth in Stefansson's observation that the cold of the Arctic deprives no one of either health or comfort if he understands conditions, realizes necessary precautions, and, making good use of his common sense, governs himself accordingly. But against the heat of tropical regions it is practically impossible to find any reasonable safeguard consistent with ordinary activity. Those accustomed to temperate zones would probably find life within the Arctic Circle more endurable and good health more assured than in the average lowlands at or near the equator. In certain tropical or semi-tropical climates, northern European races last for no more than three generations. There is no reason to believe that a like result would obtain in the far North. Although

summer heat is sometimes quite oppressive within the Arctic Circle, its duration is comparatively short.

The expedition carried on between the years 1913 and 1918 was under the official auspices of the Canadian Government, but our American National Geographic Society and the New York American Museum of Natural History had a share in its planning and outfitting. The publishers of the book point out that, despite Mr. Stefansson's title, the experiences make up a thrilling story "with a plot of human interest, wherein scientists, whalers, Eskimos, and explorers play their dramatic parts." In short, they add: "Although he refuses to call it so, this was an heroic expedition, which carried on from 1913 to 1918. It fought against tragic odds. It had lost ship, men, and equipment. Its remnants were split by insubordination. There were climatic conditions that even Arctic men considered severe." Despite all this, Stefansson explored and mapped over 100,000 square miles of hitherto unknown polar territory.

It would be impossible to follow the narrative in detail. The object was not in the least to penetrate to the North Pole. Not only has the North Pole ceased to be interesting from the mere fact that it has been discovered, but it is not the most important point in the Arctic. What Stefansson calls the Pole of Inaccessibility is four hundred miles away from the North Pole in the direction of Alaska. It is that point which is farthest away from where the explorers must leave ship to advance into unexplored region by sledge. And that Pole of Inaccessibility was practically the central point of all the Arctic area which remained unexplored when this expedition set out. The object of the expedition was to reduce this unknown area and to gather knowledge about it.

There is another pole which does not coincide at all with the North Pole, and that is what may be called the Cold Pole—that is, the point of lowest temperature. This is said to be in Asia north of Irkutsk, and there the mercury sometimes falls to 90 degrees below zero. Still another pole would be the Magnetic Pole, which again is far distant from the North Pole. Enough has been said, perhaps, to show that the popular idea that Arctic exploration ends when the North Pole is reached is absurd.

The problem of supporting life in such an expedition is now far different from what it used to be. Peary, we believe, was the first to advocate the idea of living with the Eskimos and eating as they do. This means that in traveling long distances, instead of carrying great supplies of food, the food must be obtained as the party progresses. This, again, means that the party must practically live on seal meat, and, still further, means that the party must not

go where seals do not go. Now Stefansson had long had the belief that seals went much farther under the northern ice than was supposed. He was willing to risk his life and the success of his expedition on that belief. He had before him scientific and natural history data which made him sure that his reasoning was right, that the animals upon which seals subsist would be found everywhere under the ice, and that where the food is there the seals will follow. As to being able to catch or kill seals, Stefansson and others of his men knew every trick in seal-hunting. The demonstration that this theory was correct was one of the greatest achievements of the expedition. Yet it was not always true at every point; the following passage is a good illustration of Stefansson's willingness to admit a mistake when he has made one:

We have outlined the two main views of ice navigation—the bold Atlantic policy of "keep away from the land, face the ice and take your chances;" the cautious Alaska one of "hug the coast, play safe, and if you don't get there this year you may have another chance next." There were divided opinions aboard, but I was in command, and the decision and responsibility had to be mine. I decided for what a friendly person would call the bolder course. But whoever prefers to be truthful rather than kind must say I chose the wrong alternative.

After lying at Cross Island for several hours, discussing theories and plans, we hove anchor and steamed deliberately north, away from land, threading our way between the ice cakes and occasionally ramming them to break a way. "It may be safe, but I don't think so," said Hadley. Every one else seemed delighted with our adoption of what they considered the bolder and more sportsmanlike policy.

Relentless events were to prove this decision my most serious error of the whole expedition.

The total results of the arduous five years of the expedition include an enormous amount of scientific records and reports. These are so diverse and extensive that Stefansson gave up the task of trying even to summarize them in this volume. How extensive they are may be seen from the fact that the official volumes now being published by the Canadian Department of Naval Service will be between twenty and thirty in number, and that, while about fifteen of those volumes are written, or partly written, it will take several years to get the whole ready for the press.

For the most part, therefore, the volume we have before us is devoted to a personal narrative of the progress of the expedition, and of further experiences among the Eskimos such as Stefansson had already so delightfully told in his book "My Life With the Eskimos." There is a fascination about following such a narrative of adventure that many

¹ The Friendly Arctic. By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$6.



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EXCEPT FOR THE FACT THAT THE OBJECT BEING DRAGGED OVER THE SNOW IS APPARENTLY A SEAL, MR. STEFANSSON MIGHT HAVE LABELED THIS PHOTOGRAPH "BRINGING HOME THE BACON"

readers find equal to the excitement of a stirring romance.

As to Stefansson's personality and methods of work, we cannot do better than quote at some length from the Foreword contributed to the book by Dr. Gilbert Grosvenor, the President of the National Geographic Society:

Stefansson is perhaps the last of the old school, the old régime of Arctic and Antarctic explorers, the worker with the dog and the sledge, among whom he easily holds a place in the first rank. Coming Polar explorers, both north and south, are quite likely to use mechanical means which have sprung into existence within the last few years. According to my own personal impressions—aerial flights; according to Stefansson, he would like to try his chances with a submarine; but whether it be aeroplane or submarine, it will mean the end of the old-time method, with the dog and the sledge and man trudging alongside or behind them.

What Stefansson stands for is this: he has grasped the meaning of polar work and has pursued his task in the

Arctic regions section by section. He has profited by experience piled upon experience until he knows how to face and overcome every problem of the North. His method of work is to take the white man's brains and intelligence and the white man's persistence and will power into the Arctic and supplement these forces with the woodcraft, or, I should say, polar-craft, of the Eskimo—the ability to live off the land itself, the ability to use every one of the few possibilities of those frozen regions—and concentrate on his work.

Stefansson has not only fought and overcome those ever-present contingencies of the Arctic region—cold and hunger, wet and starvation, and all that goes with them—but he has fought and overcome sickness—first, typhoid, then pneumonia, and then pleurisy—up in those forbidding regions, and then has been obliged to go by sled four hundred miles before finding the shelter of a hospital and the care of a physician.

"The Friendly Arctic" is certainly a valuable addition to the literature of Arctic exploration.

THE NEW BOOKS

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

GRAY WOLF STORIES. Indian Mystery Tales of Coyote Animals and Men. By Bernard Sexton. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.75.

Mr. Sexton as "Gray Wolf" has told many of these Indian myth and mystery stories to boys and girls. In this volume they admirably maintain their ability to interest and amuse. The adventures of Owl Man and Coyote (who lived with Ten Grizzlies) and of Wolf, Boy, Turtle, and the rest are surprising and exciting. They are based on actual Indian originals. Mr. Waugh's drawings and decorations are capital.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

TRIUMPH OF THE EGG (THE). A Book of Impressions from American Life in Tales and Poems. By Sherwood Anderson. Illustrated. B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York. \$2.

Mr. Anderson has been the recipient of a special prize for American writers

of fiction. This oddly named book is a collection of odds and ends in verse and prose. They may be classed as often agreeable and sometimes rather startling, but of no very large importance.

BIOGRAPHY

MOLTKE. By Lieut.-Colonel F. E. Whitton. Illustrated. Henry Holt & Co., New York. \$3.50.

In the eighties American students at Berlin had the privilege of seeing Moltke at the Singakademie chamber concerts; the venerable Field Marshal was devoted to this highest class of music. So in the summers of those years American sojourners at Ragaz had the privilege of seeing and talking with him; he loved the Swiss scenery of the upper Rhine. Those Americans will be disappointed in reading Colonel Whitton's volume, now published in this country, not to find in it more of the

personal touch. But as a survey of history during the ninety-one years of Moltke's life it has merit. During those years German nationalism was recreated and the modern German state was made. Despite all that Germany has done in bringing on the World War, the study of the making of that nationalism and of that state is still interesting.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

GREAT DECEPTION (THE). By Samuel Cord. Boni & Liveright, New York. \$1.50

The author assumes that a very large number of Americans regard the recent Presidential election as a condemnation of any attempt to secure united action with other nations for the saving of civilization and the preservation of world peace. This is "the great deception." The author gives no evidence that there is or has been any such widespread interpretation of the election, and we think the welcome extended throughout the United States to the proceedings of the Washington Conference quite conclusively demonstrates that such misinterpretation does not exist. If any of our readers have so misinterpreted the election, we advise them to read this volume, which shows quite conclusively that a number of the most influential of Republican leaders would have gladly voted for the Versailles League if President Wilson could have been persuaded to accept the Senate reservations.

EDUCATIONAL

NEW WORLD (THE). Problems in Political Geography. By Isaiah Bowman, Ph.D. Illustrated. The World Book Company, Yonkers, New York. \$6.

This is a book of facts, compactly and thoroughly arranged. It would serve admirably as a text-book. But it is also a work for the general reader, so graphically told are the problems confronting the old as well as the new nations of the world; indeed, the text-book becomes a collection of short stories dealing with the drama of existence and national struggles. Not a line seems to have been wasted in the description; not a line, for that matter, could have been spared if the vast field was to be covered within the limits of a single volume. The reader is conscious of a systematic analysis which strips from the story everything save fundamental considerations. Yet care has been taken to omit no factor—economic, historic, political, racial, religious. Each issue is presented with impartial statements of arguments pro and con. The author's occasional comment is peculiarly and searchingly illuminative.

MISCELLANEOUS

DEVELOPMENT OF EMBROIDERY IN AMERICA (THE). By Candace Wheeler. Illustrated. Harper & Brothers, New York. \$5.

Mrs. Wheeler is a recognized authority on decorative art. She tells here the history of needlecraft in America from the quill work of the Indians to the finest designs of this day. The narrative is simple and enjoyable and is without excess of technical language. The illustration is full and will delight feminine eyes.

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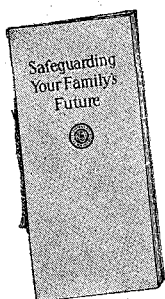
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THE MANAGER TAKES COUNSEL

BY NORMAN F. COLEMAN

POPULAR opinion in relation to industry is strongly influenced by the military tradition. We speak of our industrial leaders as captains. We see the manager in popular magazines, a strong-jawed person of commanding appearance, sitting erect behind his flat-topped desk at headquarters. At his side is the telephone for transmission of orders and reports. Before him, cap in hand and with bowed head, at industrial attention, stands an employee, awaiting the captain's commands.

It is true that this picture is being falsified by the progress of the modern industrial movement, which gives the employees representation in the councils of management; but critics of the new movement still hark back to the military tradition, and ask if any army could be led by a committee. As if an industrial process like the making of steel or the weaving of cloth were a summer's campaign, and as if getting out a car-load of lumber were a charge across No Man's Land.

The popular picture of the captain of industry may have been true twenty-five years ago, but it is not true now. Instead of sitting erect and issuing confident orders by telephone or messenger, the manager frequently sits back in his chair with a look of worried perplexity in his face as he ponders questions difficult to answer. Shall he sell his product at prices away below cost or hold it in the hope that the market may soon recover? Shall he run his operation at a loss, or shut it down and let taxes, insurance, and salaries of permanent employees eat up his resources? Shall he try to hold together his organization and maintain his trade connection by forcing a market, or shall he nail up doors and windows and confess himself, for a time at least, beaten?

Faced with these difficult choices, most operators have run along from day to day doing the best they could to hold their losses within tolerable limits. Some, working in specially favorable situations, have made a profit. The best of them have worried by day and by night over the increasingly difficult industrial situation.

Frequently also the manager has taken counsel with others who are interested with him in the industry. Sometimes these have pushed into his office, and sometimes he has invited them in. They have occupied chairs before his desk while he has leaned forward to meet their challenge and to answer their questions.

First have come the stockholders. Their expected dividends have failed. Some of them are in real need. All of them desire regular and sizable returns from their investments. (I talked with one recently who had had only one small dividend in ten years.) When these returns fail, the investors are apt to be inquisitive, suspicious, and even vindictive. They are not only partly in-

formed concerning local conditions. They may, against the manager's best judgment, demand radical changes in policy.

To the manager in our Northwest lumber industry, with its eight-hour day and its relatively high wage standards have come stockholders from the Middle West and the South saying: "With the selling price of your product cut in half and the demand for it greatly reduced, why do you not spread your overhead expenses over a ten-hour daily production? Why do you not hire men at the lowest market rate?" Some managers have, I know, been strongly advised by their directors to take this course, and a few have yielded. Others, more mindful of the future good of the industry, and of the Nation, have said, "If that policy is to be followed, you must choose some other manager." Generally the stockholders, having asked their questions and expressed their opinions, have said to the manager: "You are on the job and know the men you have to work with. We leave the responsibility here but we think you are following a mistaken policy."

Second have come the employees. These make up the manager's organization. Many of them have been with him for years. Most have been loyal and faithful workers. They have lately taken reductions in wages and suffered through periods of shutdown. The old confidence in the management and pride in the operation have largely gone from their faces, and, instead, the manager has seen fear, discontent, and suspicion. "Are we not to have enough wages," they have asked, "to maintain our families in decency? We have played square with you. How are you playing with us? Are you taking advantage of our necessity to strengthen your power and increase your profits?" These men must be answered. It will do no good to discharge them. Sooner or later their places must be filled with others like them, only less interested in the operation and harder to deal with; for in these days discontent and suspicion among workmen are very widespread.

One manager I know has met his men in frequent conference, explaining to them the difficulties of the market and discussing with them ways of cutting down production costs. In his mill a committee of employees has been at work week by week studying the situation and preparing suggestions for their increased efficiency of the plant and of the working force.

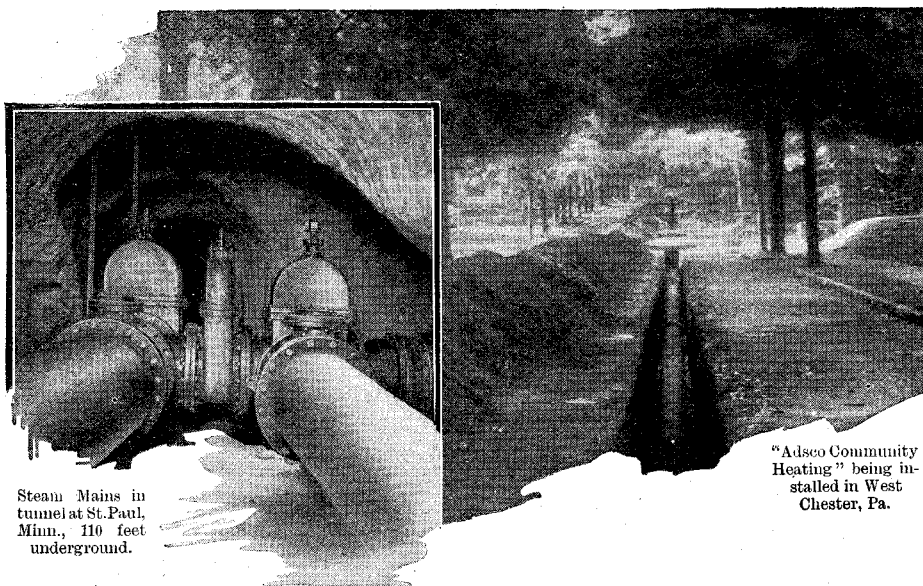
Another manager faced a serious loss last spring in his operation and proposed to reduce wages. The men objected, on the ground that they were already living on a narrow margin. The manager called them together and opened his accounts to them, showing them that he could not keep the mill running unless he could reduce the cost of operation. He asked them to talk the question over among themselves and

propose their own answer. In a few days their committee came to him with a proposal that their pay should be cut a dollar a day all around. The manager's estimate of the necessary reduction was a dollar and fifteen cents, but he accepted their figure, and the operation went forward on a basis of mutual understanding and confidence.

The third group to face the manager has represented the local citizens. It has included business and professional men whose fortunes are bound up with the community. Some of these men have belonged to the same club, lodge, and chamber of commerce with the manager. They have been thinking of their families and of the business and community enterprises to which they are committed. They have asked: "How are bills to be paid, how is the community life to be maintained, if your industry shuts down or pays starvation wages? Stores, churches, schools, the paving of streets and the building of homes are all at stake here. Are you playing fair with us or are you only concerned to save your own gains?" Under this kind of pressure managers have consented to continue operating at heavy loss. The will of the community has prevailed to maintain decent family support and to preserve some degree of unity and courage among its members.

Behind this group the manager has seen in his mind's eye a larger public waking up to a realization of their interest in all basic industries and their equity in all natural resources. Once this public might be "damned" with impunity, but those old days of managerial irresponsibility are gone. Now the public asks questions and has ways of forcing an answer. Principally it asks, "How important is your service to us, and are you asking a fair price for it?" If not satisfied on these points, the public may stubbornly or clamorously demand "to be shown."

To all these questions the manager has been tempted to say that his business is to produce, not to talk; that he is doing his best and has no apologies or explanations to offer. But without the understanding and support of the stockholders, the employees, and the public he cannot keep on producing. Their questions are part of his job. Ultimately he will have to talk things over fully and frankly with them and win their confidence and good will. With respect to the first group he has probably recognized this necessity. With regard to the second and third he is beginning to do so. Occasionally, to be sure, one still finds a manager who thinks that workingmen may be held to efficient production by fear of hunger or by the speed of machines, but the facts of modern industry are showing against this opinion. We have had authentic and impressive reports recently of production lowered far below normal by discontent among the crew. We have also, it should be said, had equally impressive reports of increase up to twenty per cent above normal where the manager has kept his men continually informed, confident, and co-operative. In

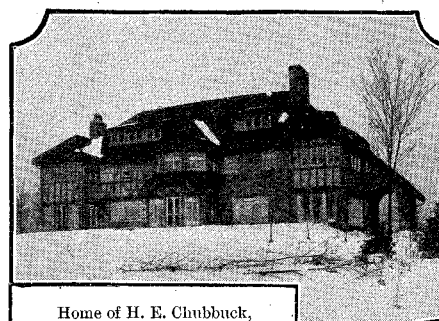


Steam Mains in tunnel at St. Paul, Minn., 110 feet underground.

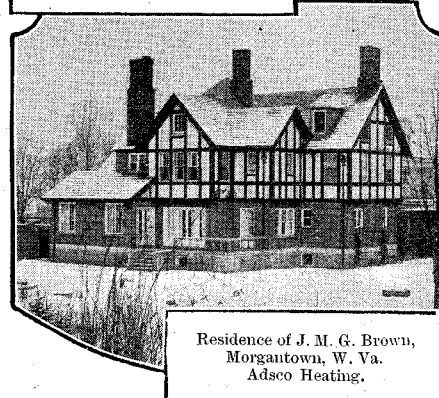
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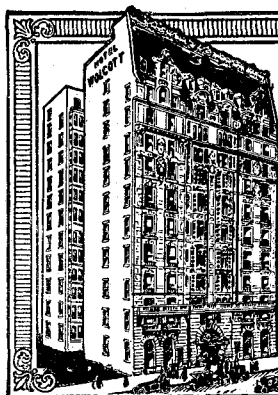
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THE MANAGER TAKES COUNSEL

(Continued)

these days a working crew cannot long be forced to efficient labor by fear of unemployment. One discontented man may be driven or discharged, but not a hundred. On the other hand, men may now, as always, be led. They respond readily to open and fair treatment. The wonder is that some managers should choose to follow a crooked and secretive policy in relation to their employees, when successful industrial leaders the country over are proving the value in dollars and cents, as well as in good digestion and sound sleep, of open discussion and straightforward dealing with their employees.

Suspicion and secret hostility have brought an intolerable burden upon industry. A widespread system of espionage undermines confidence by systematically mingling falsehood with facts. American industry pays millions of dollars yearly to untrustworthy, trouble-making industrial spies, while the way of conference is open at the mere cost of frank speech, the keeping of faith, and a decent recognition of the common manhood and of the common interests of employers and employees.

Some managers set themselves against this trend toward opening the industry to the workers and the public, fearing the loss of their leadership. These managers face their questioners with folded arms and unexpressive eyes; yet these questioners are, with few exceptions, not enemies but friends. They are willing that large powers of leadership should remain with the managers. They say, not, "Give way to us," but "Let us understand and let us help." They are friendly in tone and intention, but they are also firm, and one suspects that these reluctant managers will either come forward with outstretched hands offering information and welcoming assistance, or else they will make way for more enlightened leaders.

The manager needs counsel now, and he will need it more in the immediate future. More than one operator has confessed to me recently his expectation of comparatively hard times for years to come. Industry, these have said, must run on narrower margins. It cannot stand in the future the wastes that it has stood in the past—wastes by unproductive labor and inefficient management, and wastes by industrial warfare.

Who shall work out plans for the prevention of these wastes and who shall execute the plans? Does any one think that the managers alone are able to do it? No. The man behind the desk needs help. He knows it now, and next year he will know it better.

The manager of the future will still sit behind his desk with his telephone at hand to transmit directions and with papers before him to receive his authorizing signature. But much oftener than is the custom now other chairs will be brought up around his desk; other men, his natural partners in production, will sit there to hear his reports and to share his counsels.

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ARTHUR CAPPER is a United States Senator from Kansas. He began his journalistic career in 1884, after graduating from the Garnett (Kansas) High School, as compositor on the Topeka daily "Capital," and later became publisher and proprietor of numerous agricul-

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He has been war correspondent and Commissioner of the Near East Relief for Southern Russia and Asia Minor.



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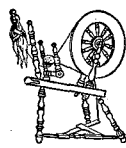
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